

THE
PRINCE.

Written in ***French***

By *Mounsier du Balzac.*

NOW

Translated into English.

LONDON,
Printed for *M. Meighen*, and
G. Bedell, and are to be sold
at their shop at the *Middle-*
Temple gate. 1648.

Contents

To my worthy friend iv

To my Lord v

To my Lordxvi

The Preface.....xxiii

CHAP. I. 1

CHAP. II. 3

CHAP. III. 7

CHAP. IV..... 11

CHAP. V..... 13

CHAP. VI. 16

CHAP. VII. 18

CHAP. VIII. 20

CHAP. IX. 24

CHAP. X. 28

CHAP. XI. 30

CHAP. XII. 34

CHAP. XIII. 39

CHAP. XIV..... 42

CHAP. XV..... 44

CHAP. XVI. 50

CHAP. XVII. 53

CHAP. XVIII. 57

CHAP. XIX. 61

CHAP. XX. 63

CHAP. XXI. 67

CHAP. XXII. 72

CHAP. XXIII.	76
CHAP. XXIV.	80
CHAP. XXV.	82
CHAP. XXVI.	86
CHAP. XXVII.	91
CHAP. XXVIII.	95
CHAP. XXIX.	99
CHAP. XXX.	103
CHAP. XXXI.	108
FINIS.....	116
ERRATA.....	117

To my worthy friend

Colonell *Gervas Holles*.

SIR,

I Have sent you *Balzac's Prince* made English: Those that have read the Authour in his owne words; (which indeed is a handsome piece,) will judge it a strange presumption to make a Frenchman, (so much that Mode is doted on) speak any other language then his owne: But your acceptance will countervaile their Censure, which you will extreemly assure me of, if, in case it venture further abroad, you will give it leave to be happy in this Adresse it desires to appeare under. You have placed all hazards below the service to your King, you may the better therefore protect a Prince: Not that I would entitle you to those faults the Translation may labour under; a friend is to bee made use of in a more noble employment; such I have found you, whose patience, when you first read these papers, hath engaged you to this second trouble of accepting them wholly for your owne, from him who is

Your most affectionate friend

H. G.

To my Lord

the Cardinall of *Richelieu*.

My Lord,

I Am very sorry that my indisposition cannot permit me to obey the command which you have injoynd mee, and to be my selfe the Bearer of the Booke which I send you. Yet since you receive it from better and more worthy hands then mine, and that *M.* the Bishop of *Nantz* hath done mee the honour to carry it, I need not fear it should run any hazard in my absence. If the King vouchsafe to cast his eyes upon it for the testimony you beare it, I dare promise *my Lord*, that he will finde something that will please him for the remembrance of what is pass'd, and that his vertue being without example, he will take pleasure to see that I speake thereof after a manner which is not altogether common. I protest freely that the consideration of so high a vertue, hath given me thoughts which I cannot expect from the mediocrity of my wit: and I have bin so extraordinarily transported, that oftentimes I knew not what I was about to write. It alone, hath discovered to mee the *Idea* of this Art which commands all others, which excites and calmes the passions as seemeth good to it; which is not content to please by the purity of the Style, and the graces of language, but which undertakes to perswade by the force of learning and abundance of reason. I have sought it hitherto unprofitably; the Life of the King hath taught me more then all the precepts of the *Rhetoricians*; and I owe all the merit of my work to the happinesse of his raigne. It is at least one advantage which I have above those who have lived before me. Their memory is otherwayes venerable to mee; and since I honour men of threescore yeares, I have no mind to contemne the Antiquity of many Generations. For strangers that believe themselves to have the possession of wit, we are not bound to yield them the same respect; and I think I may say without offence, that as they have not a Master of so much worth as ours, neither would it be reasonable for us to be inferiour to them; and that the worthiest *Prince* of the world should command a people of lesse worth then others: In my opinion you will state this question in our

Favour: But I hope more *My Lord*, if you take notice of the carriage of the discourse, and consider how I get out of ill passages, you will do me the honour to avow, that though I walk upon thornes I am not prick'd, and that in the most dangerous matters I have kept that temper which ought to be held *Inter abruptam audaciam, & deforme obsequium*: Between presumptuous boldnesse and deform'd flattery. If sometimes I have most free expressions, me thinkes my Libertie is like that of well polliced Republickes, where they leave not off to obey the lawes, and together withall to preserve their Libertie.

When I shall be at *Milan* or at *Brussels*, I shall not know how to handle the *Princes* of the house of *Austria* with more respect and reverence then I doe; and it is in my opinion all that they can expect from the discretion of a man that is not their Subject. For not to dare to speak of the Ambition of the *Spaniards*, of the Maximes of the *Counsell* of *Spaine*, and of the Designe to conquer, which the King will change when he shall please, into a necessity of defending themselves; would be already one beginning of slavery which wee should pay them; and they are, I assure my selfe, too just to be willing that wee should thanke them for the wrong they have done us.

There may be some other passages which ill Interpreters will wrong in the explication, chiefly where it is spoken of *Ministers* and Favourites: But keeping my selfe in generall Thesises, and not designing the persons in particular, my proceeding seemes to mee very innocent. Neither can I hinder those that find themselves guilty to have remorse, or that wounded faces should not see their scarres when they behold themselves in a glasse. If it were forbidden to make profession of Truth, I should not presently turne Rebell, nor oppose my self to an established order: I would obey so perverse a Law, because I am a good Citizen, but it should be by my silence, and not by my cowardlinesse, and at the charges of not speaking at all, but not of speaking against my conscience. God be thanked, we are not upon these tearmes; and I also injoy the good fortune of the times, and knowing well, that whatever falls out, servile spirits are suspected, that their Testimony is not received, and that they do

injury to Reason it self when they make use thereof, I would be bold sometimes, to be credible alwayes, and to make that passe for absolute Truth, which otherwise might be disputed.

There are that accuse mee of a contrary vice, and who say that I flatter because in some places I strive to adorn truth: I would not do an ill office to any person; But assure your self, *my Lord*, that these kind of People are Enemies rather of my Subject, then of my Book, and wish more against the *Prince*, then against the Oratour. I protest, had I bin able to expresse my self in a loftier strain, I could have made it appeare in this occasion; neither had it beene as was sometime said to imploy the Arrowes of *Philoctetes* to kill birds, nor to raise stormes upon a Rivulet: It is not fit to speake meanly of that which is the highest next under Heaven, and Sovereignty which is adored all alone, deserves without doubt a double veneration when it hath vertue for a Companion. One cannot write of the King in tearmes too high nor too magnificent; and wee may for many just reasons allow him that, which heretofore hath been conferr'd upon wicked *Princes* meerly in respect of their *Character*. I will not represent you *My Lord*, with what honour and what humility, or rather with what worship and religion the *Romane Princes* have been entertained by their Subjects. I will not trouble my selfe to make you consider that they bestow'd upon them *Eternity* and *Divinity*; as wee give our *Soveraignes*, Majestie and Highnesse, that what is now called the *Crime of Felony*, was in those times called the *Crime of Impiety*, and that our Rebels were their Ungodly ones.

I will not alleadge that in the *Code of Theodosius*, the Answers of the Emperours are stiled Oracles; their Edicts Divine Letters, their Aspects a Celestiall splendour, their Pallace, the Divine House, their Closet the Sanctuary: I onely intreat you to remember that this Style is the Style of the *Romane* Empire, which had already received Christianity, and that not only the Courtiers and the Oratours have spoken thus, but also the Holy Fathers and the Councels. Saint *Gregory Nazianzen* in his first Invective against *Julian*, calleth *Constance* most Divine *Prince*, though this most Divine *Prince* had persecuted the faithfull, driven the Popes out of their Seate, and

dyed in the *Arrian* Heresie. *Anastasius* was also an Heretick Emperour, and was slain with a Thunderbolt by a just punishment of Heaven; and yet *Såbas* the good servant of God speaking of this wicked *Prince*, said, that he was come to adore the steps of his Imperiall Piety: and an Historian of his time called him Saint *Anastasius*. The Fathers of the sixth Councell of *Constantinople*, do call *Justinian*, Saint *Justinian*, and his Wife Saint *Theodora*, though the Life of both of them was fuller of *Monsters*, then of *Miracles*, and that *Theodora* particularly made use of the power of the Empire onely to doe mischief to the Church: After the same manner *Theodorick* the *Arrian* is called Saint *Theodorick* by the Councell of *Rome*, and according to the relation of *Eusebius*; *Dennis* of *Alexandria*, the Martyr of our *Lord*, gave the Title of most Holy, to *Valerian* the *Pagan* Emperour, though wee attribute it now only to the Supream Head of Christian Religion.

Now if this be so, and that the Fathers and the Councils have spoken of the holinesse of *Heretiques* and *Pagans*, which proceeded only from the Character and unction which they received, and which consequently was externall and came from without; why is it not lawfull for me to acknowledge another holinesse joyned to this? a Holinesse which is not superficiall and borrowed; but which hath its foundation in the innocency of life; which is not tyed to the Dignity, but inherent in the Person; which is not an impression of the finger of *God* upon a fortuitous matter, but an effusion of his grace in a soule chosen and predestin'd. Whoever finds excesse in my words, knowes not what is the duty of a Subject, nor has that opinion which he ought to have concerning his own *Prince*. He carries his sight too boldly upon so elevated a greatnesse, and measures not the distance which is betweene his Judgement and the worth of the King. Provided that the honour which is rendered to these Sacred Persons be not injurious to *God*, there can be no excesse in honouring them; provided that the Praises which are given them, do not offend a greater *Majestie* then theirs, they cannot be immoderate; wee ought to reverence even their shadow, & bow the knee before their picture: All that comes near them ought to appear to us more pure, and more full of luster by the participation which it receives from their rayes.

The respect which is born them ought to proceed even to their Liveries and ordinary Servants, and with greater reason to be extended to their Affaires and *Ministers*: For whom you may remember if you please, that the ancient Christians were wont to pray publicly, and to ask of God their preservation, though thereby they intreated for the preservation of their persecuters, and of those who exposed them daily to Lions in the *Amphitheater*.

After this Example I have no mind to murmure against the Government of my Countrey, nor to find fault with that which passeth over my head. I am alwayes content with the present honesty, and the wisdom which is in use; I never dispute against the Pilote that carries me, nor am curious after a novelty, to which, though it may chance prove good, I shall have much trouble to accustome my selfe. I suffer Tyrannie, and desire the upright administration of Justice: When my Superiours are froward and perverse, I have docility and patience; when they are such as they ought to be, I have thankfull acknowledgement, & love. To those that are bad I give my silence and discretion, but neither do I forbear to speak well of those that are good, nor to praise things that are praiseworthy. For what concerns you, *My Lord*, I know that you endeavour more for the solidity of vertue, then for its pompe, and that you had rather fight, then triumph. Yet since your modesty is such, that it oftentimes rejects truth, you ought not to be believed in your own cause, and I lawfully except against you. Your Moderation must not hinder our acknowledgement, nor must wee be ungratefull, because you are shamefast. It is true, there are certaine bounds within which the most violent affections ought to containe themselves, and because I have begun to quote Latine, I will owe you that saying of *Tacitus*, *Pessimum Inimicorum genus Laudantes*: Prayers are the worst kinde of Enemies. But communicating to no other what is due to the King alone, nor bestowing the honour of successes elsewhere; they cannot take it ill that I represent you as a wise and faithfull *Minister*, that acts by the orders and commands of a great *Prince*, and who seeks for no other glory but that of obeying and serving well. Men need not be astonished, that among so many unjust passions and groundlesse murmurings, there are found free

judgements and voices that blesse your carriage of businesses. And certainly, in a time when you are so powerfully and so violently assaulted, there would be a want of the duties of humanity not to study to finde out some consolation for your displeasures, and to see an Innocent suffer without giving him one sigh, or comforting him with one word. It is not enough, *My Lord*, that you are assur'd of the Protection of your *Master*, and of the good state of your Conscience, you have still need of the opinion of men, and of the Testimony of the Publicke. You apprehend not the danger of your Person, nor the ruine of your fortune, but you apprehend blame, and evill reputation; You are afraid of dishonest things though you contemne dangerous ones. And therefore this ought to bee a sweet sadnesse, and a misfortune, which you may stile glorious; to know, together with all good men, that you suffer for Justice, and that your cause is that of the *King*, and of the State. If it grieves you that you are not in the favour of a great Princesse, at least you have not any remorse for being unfaithfull to her; and if you have not had complacencie enough to performe all her desires, wee know that you have too much honesty to have done any thing against her service. It is no small comfort to your mind, that the taking of *Rochell*, where you did most profitable service; and the reliefe of *Cazal*, to which you contributed very much, are the onely Crimes which make you guiltie; and that the luster of what you have done abroad being not able to be supported at the Court, strangers are come to mingle themselves in this domestick Jealousie, and to try to ruine him, whom they could not gain.

This is the fountaine of our last evils. The Credulity of the best Queene in the world hath serv'd for an innocent Instrument for the malice of our enemies, and the Request she made to the *King*, to remove you from his affaires, was not so much an effect of her indignation against you, as the first blow of the Conspiracie framed against *France*, and which was disguis'd to her under the vaile of devotion, that she might believe she merited in ruining you. The King would have given her all the reasonable satisfaction hereupon that shee could desire. Hee was many times your Advocate, and Intercessour towards her: Hee would have bin your surety, and have

answered for your fidelity. On your part *My Lord*, you have forgot nothing wherby to endeavour to asswage her spirit; she hath seene you at her feete asking her favour, though you might have demanded justice: she hath seene you make your selfe guilty and wronging your owne Innocency to give her place to pardon you. You have put your selfe in all postures of duty to move her, and if she would have believed no body but her selfe you had prevail'd with her: But those evill spirits which environ'd her, and who more desired your destruction then her contentment, made new batteries, thereby to harden her heart, which began to be mollified: They hindered the effect which wee expected from your submissions and from the Kings intreaties, they wrought upon her good disposition which began to yeeld and relent, and had it not beene for their devilish slights we should have seen her full of glory and Majestie, bearing a part in all the thoughts of her Son; and wee should see you again receiving ordinarily from her mouth the commands of your Master: But she disrellisheth the one and the other, and will remain still in her former perswasion. The King, who hath granted her the pardon of more then forty thousand guilty persons, could not obtain from her the favour for one Innocent; and hee that is come to the end of the obstinacie of the Rebels, nor hath undertaken any thing without successe, hath petition'd his Mother to no purpose. This made Him oppose a necessary constancy against so strange a resolution, and to resolve not to pleasure his Enemies with the banishment of his servants. Hee retain'd you then, when you press'd him to give you leave to retire; and being ready to yeeld to the times, and to give place to envie, hee made it appeare that he was stronger then malice, and that he could change the time when he pleas'd: Hee did not believe that hee offended Nature not to abandon vertue, nor that it was a sin against maternall Duty, not to violate friendship: and remembring perhaps that our Lord called his disciples his Mother and his Brethren, and said in the same place, *That he that doth his will, the same is his Brother, and Sister, and Mother*, He considered that Kings ought not so to respect Proximity, as to make no account of affection; and that to raigne, they have indeed need of Alliances and Kindred, but neither must they let passe servants and obedience.

Behold then your selfe, *My Lord*, maintain'd by the necessitie of your Services, and the Interests of State, behold your selfe above the winds and tempests. The complaints made against you have onely assured your *Master*, that you are more to him then they could desire; The blow wherewith they thought to make you fall, serv'd onely to set you the faster, and that force which gave the shock to your fortune, without being able to shake it, shew'd us the solidity of its matter. Neverthesse being good and vertuous as you are, I imagine you are not content with this Fortune if you possesse it not with the consent of the whole world: It cannot be more powerfull and more firm then it is, but it may be more sweet and delightfull. You never received so great honours, but you have tasted purer joyes: Never were there more victories nor more advantages over the Stranger, and never more intestine mischiefs and tumult in the House. This disorder which you have no way caus'd greatly afflicts you, and I know you would with all your heart that every thing were in its place. I doubt not but you bewaile the misfortune of a Mistresse whom you have conducted by your Services to the utmost degree of felicitie, and that having laboured so long and so affectionately the perfect Union of their Majesties, it is a sensible displeasure to you at this day to see your labours ruin'd, and your worke fallen to the ground: You would be willing I assure my selfe, you had dyed at Rochel, because till then you were in the Queenes good opinion. I believe amidst the complaints that she makes, all the praises that come to you from elsewhere are importunate, and that even your merit is in some sort odious to you, since it hath not her approbation. God will dispell one day these clouds, and will send her more upright thoughts of your fidelitie.

But expecting till this bee brought to passe, and that businesses receive some accommodation, it shall not trouble you if for some houres I turne your eyes from these sad objects which afflict you, and present you with the Image of a happier season then this here present. I thinke I am inspir'd by my good Angel to bound my design with the first voyage for *Italy*; Before, *My Lord*, that your prosperitie was envied, that your friends fail'd of their fidelitie, that the Queene had changed her affections, and that the exploits of the Armie were

weakened by the close dealings of the Closet. I meddle not with these hatefull Subjects, nor have the heart to handle wounds so fresh and bleeding. I will onely speak of what hath preceded our miseries, and in all this I will onely warrant my intention. It is very good, *My Lord*, and hath nothing for its object but the service of the *King*, but perhaps it is ill managed, and arrives not whither it tends. I know I am a good *Frenchman*, and extreamly love my Countrey; but I know not whether I am a good Politician, or sufficiently acquainted with our affaires; without doubt I have more courage, then strength, and more zeale then knowledge: And this protestation I made at the entrance into my worke; that no body might be deceiv'd, and that they might search there rather for something which may excite love towards their Countrey, then which should instruct them with things new and curious. I declare from the beginning that I have not any bodies assistance, that I have received neither Notes nor instructions, and that I walke without a guide or a Companion; And therefore if I commit any faults, I have onely done what I should, and they must be taken as proceeding from a man who sees things afar off, and from without, and stayes at the appearance of publicke affaires, without penetrating into their inward parts which are hid from him.

I could enter presently upon my matter, and take a shorter way then that which I have followed; but I had a designe to prepare their minds by a pleasant discourse to one more serious, and to deferre something after the manner of the Antients. You know *my Lord*, that the most part of them, make *Proems* to their bookes which have no agreement with their Subject, and which are like heads fastened on, which you may put upon all bodies. And this is so true, that *Cicero* writes of himselfe that hee had a volume of reserves whence hee drew out when hee had any need for the beginning of his workes. So that by chance having prefix'd before his booke of Glory, the same Preface which hee had already put to his third booke of the *Academickes*, hee requested *Atticus* very pleasantly to cut off that first booke, and put another which he sent him in its place. In these Prefaces they did ordinarily discourse of the affaires and Government of the Common-wealth, they complain'd of the corruption of the Age, they related to the world their employments in

the City, and their exercises in the field; and after that, instead of descending gently, and as it were by degrees into their matter in hand, you would say that they precipitated themselves, so suddenly and all at once doe they fall upon it. All the *Exordiums* of *Salust* are of this kinde, and would as well fit *Cicero's* Books, as his: After hee hath declaim'd of vice and vertue, and has thrown himself upon an infinite reasoning, hee goes not out at the doore, where he sees himself shut up, but escapes forth by a breach, and breaking off on a suddaine where they thought hee would have gone on; let us come saith he to the businesse in hand; The Greekes are more licentious herein, then he. *Dion Chrysostome* enters not ordinarily upon his subject till the end of his discourse; and if we take from his Master Plato his long Prefaces, his fabulous narrations, his importunate Digressions, we shall make him shorter by halfe then he is: Both of them are like little women undrest, who having put off their Tyres and their Cheopines, are but a piece of themselves. *Plutarch* doubtlesse is one of the most advised and most judicious of the latter *Greeks*, but yet he is fallen into the vice of his age and of his Countrey; and he who can rid himself of the Treatise which hee hath made of the Familiar spirit of *Socrates*, shall easily be able to get out of a Labyrinth. Christian Authours ought to be more austere, and lesse curious after strange ornaments, yet they cease not to give something to custome, and to wanton it out of their Subject.

And not to trouble you with a tedious enumeration: The Dialogue which *Minutius Felix* hath made to justifie our Religion against the Calumnies of the *Pagans*, hath a beginning no whit at all serious, and very far from the gravity of his matter. And Saint *Cyprian* in that letter so much esteemed which hee wrote to *Donatus* being a very severe Censure of the manners of his age by a description purely Poeticall, and by a Discourse as gaudy and florid as if hee would have spoken of Love or rehearsed a Fable.

As for mee who have undertaken a labour of a long breath, I would not altogether imitate the Antients, which to their workes fasten others, neither would I altogether avoid them. I have made a Preface where I have spoken as pleasantly as I could of the pleasures

of the *Autumne*, because it was the time of the conception of my *Prince*: Neither have I forgotten the Countrey where I was, because it is the place of his birth, I have beene very glad to give account upon occasion of the entertainment of my Solitude, and to justifie the leisure of a retired person against those that accuse him of sloth and idlenesse. Besides that by the Conclusion you may see the whole businesse is to my purpose, and the adventure which gave occasion to my designe, and which is Historicall and true, happening to mee at the River side which I describe, whereof my descriptions which are not perhaps tedious, are sometimes necessary, and may be considered as Circumstances of the Action which I represent, &c.

March 3.

Desunt caetera.

1631.

To my Lord
the Cardinall of Richelieu.

My Lord,

BEing still detained here by some affaires which I cannot neglect without loosing them; I suffer with much grieve so hard a necessity, and esteem my selfe as it were banished in my own Countrey, seeing I am so long separated from you. I deny not but the victorious and triumphant Newes, which comes daily to us from the Armie, gives mee some motion of Joy, and that I am very sensibly affected with the noise which your Name makes on all sides. But my satisfaction cannot be intire to learne from the relations of another, those things whereof I my selfe should bear witnesse. And I conceive so much pleasure to consider you in your Glory, that there is not any Souldier beyond the Mountaines under your Command, whose good fortune I do not envie.

I forbear not therefore, My Lord, since I cannot serve you with my body and my actions, to adore you night and day in my thoughts, and to employ so deserved a worship the noblest part of my selfe. You are next after the King the Eternall object of my mind; I scarce ever divert it from the course of your Life; and if you have more diligent Courtiers then I, and which render you their respects with more shew and ostentation, I am certaine you have not any servant more faithfull, nor whose affection comes more from the heart, or is more lively and naturall: But that my words may not seem vain and groundlesse, I send you the prooffe of what I say, whereby you shall know, that a man perswaded has a great inclination to perswade others, and that discourse grounded upon things, and animated with truth, moves the minds of men with more force, and procures more credit and believe, then that which busy's it selfe to counterfeit only and declame.

It is a part My Lord, drawne from its body, a piece which I have snatched from the labours I have undertaken: To whose perfection I

protest freely, that all the houres of leisure more quiet then mine, and all the powers and faculties of a Soule more elevated then ordinarily, had found enough wherewith to be employed. Here are handled the vertue and victories of the King; the Justice of his Armes: Royalty, and Tyranny: 'Tis a discourse of usurpers and of lawfull Princes, of Rebellion chastis'd, and Libertie maintain'd: But seeing the Prince, of whom I speak, makes no stop, and that following him I must needs ingage my selfe into an infinite subject, I have prescrib'd my selfe some bounds which I could not meet with in his actions; And after the Example of Homer, who ended his Iliads with the death of Hector, though then there was not an end of the warre, I would not proceed further then the taking of Suza, though it was but the beginning of those wonders which we have seene. Now, your Lordship knowes, that this way of writing which I have proposed to my self, is, without comparison the barrenest that is, and which can hardly continue active, or make any durable onsets. This prayse is given to Oratours; to those I say that know how to perswade; who can please with profiting; who render people capable of the secrets of civill pollicie. For as for Philosophers who have written thereof, their discourse is commonly so dry and saplesse; that their intention seemes to be rather to instruct, then to please; and besides their style is so intricate and thorny, that it seemes they are willing to teach none but the learned. This hath no more difficulty in it, then to heale those that are well; and to be obscure there is no more requir'd then to stay at the first notions which wee have of truth, which are never very neate nor well extracted, and which fall from the fancie upon the paper in the same confusion they are first presented to it, resembling rather deformed abortions, then perfect productions. Besides, in the composure of a Historie where the Politician beares rule, an Authour is carryed by his matter, and the things being done ready to his hand, which easeth him of the trouble of Invention, as the progresse of time gives him his order, hee is scarce bound to any thing else then to contribute words: which some have accounted so small; that Menander being prest to put forth a piece that hee had promised, It is already, said he, there wants onely the words. But in the perswasive way, besides that wee must make use of the choisest

words, and place them with greater evennesse then in bare narrations, which for all their luster and richnesse of expression desire onely the perspicuity and propriety of the tearmes. Those that desire to succeed effectually herein, force themselves to put in use, & to reduce into action the most subtile Ideas of Rhetoricke; to raise their reason to the highest point of things; to seek out in every matter things least exposed to the common view, and to render them see familiar; that those that cannot perceive them, may yet touch them. Their designe is to joyne pleasure with profit, to mingle delight with plenty, and to fight not onely with good and strong armes, but also with faire and glittering ones. They try to civilize Learning, changing it from the fashion of the Colledge, and delivering it out of the hands of Pedants who spoile, and defile it in the handling; who are, as we may so say, its Corrupters and Adulterers, and abuse in the face of all the world a thing so faire and excellent: They never defend themselves from rockes, by turning from them, but try to slide gently over them: to escape out of difficult places and not to avoid them: to goe before malicious Interpreters by a word which destroyes the conclusion they thought to draw thence; and to make it appeare that there is nothing so harsh, nothing so distastfull which is not tempered and made soft by discourse. At last they suffer themselves sometimes to be carried away with that rationall fury which Rhetoritians know very well; but which is beyond their rules and precepts: which moves the Oratour with such strange passions, that they seeme rather inspir'd then naturall, and with which Demosthenes and Cicero being possess'd, the one swore by those that dyed at Marathon, and deified them by his owne private Authoritie: The other ask'd the Hills and Forrests of Alba, as if it had been their duty to answer him. But if I were arrived to so noble a height, which I neither dare, nor can believe, and could I shew strange Nations, that in France all things are changed into the better under so happy a raigne as that of the Kings, and that hee augments our wit, as well as increaseth our Courage, I should not for all this deserve the glory, but I must referre it wholly to the felicity, of my times and to the force of my subject.

If in all cases My Lord, I cannot obtain a place among knowing and skilfull men, I will not be denyed one amongst honest and affectionate Servants; and if my Capacitie be not worthy to be had in consideration of, by you, my zeale at least deserves not to be rejected. Certainly I am many times so moved, that I doubt not but my resentments please you, and it is a pleasant recreation for you to behold a Philosopher in anger. And though true love bee sufficiently content with the Testimony of the conscience, and I render you many proofes of my most humble service, that I assure my selfe you could never know, I desire neverthelesse some times for your satisfaction, that you could heare me from the place where you are, and see with what advantage I dispute the publike cause: How I confute the false Newes which are made currant, and how I stop their mouthes that would speake disadvantageously of our affaires: It is certain they cannot be more flourishing, nor the successe of the Kings Army more glorious, nor the rest of the people more assur'd, nor your administration more judicious. And yet wee meet with some spirits who are vexed at their own good, who cannot indure their happinesse, nor be kept in a good believe but by supernaturall prosperities, who have no more faith assoone as there ceaseth to be a miracle. When the present affaires are in good condition they make evill judgements of the future, and in prosperous events their presages are alwaies tragicall; they sweare they esteeme nothing but strangers and forraigne things: They admire Spinola, because he is an Italian and not of their Party; and they are troubled to praise the King because hee is a Frenchman and their Master; they will scarce confesse hee hath conquer'd after so many Cities taken, so many Factions ruin'd, who are the eternall Monuments of his Victories, and it hath been easier for him to merit esteeme over all Europe, then to gain their approbation. They would perswade us if they could, that he had rais'd the siege from before Rochell, and made a dishonourable peace with the Huguenotes; that he hath been beaten by the English, and that the Spaniards have made him flee: If they could they would blot out his History, and quench the greatest splendour which ought to enlighten posterity. I doubt not but they looke with evill eyes in any Booke upon the Images of things which so greatly offend them: And those that believe Fables & Romances,

and grow extream passionate for a Hercules or an Achilles, who it is possible never were; who are transported when they reade the Actions of Roland, and Rennould, which were acted onely uppon the paper, will not rellish Truth because it beares witnesse to the vertue of their Prince. They will be content, that against the faith of all Antiquity, Xenophon who was a Grecian, and no Persian hath dreamt out a life of Cyrus according to his fancy, and that he makes him dye in his bed, among his friends, though the truth is, that he dyed in the warre and was overcome by a woman.

They allow that Pliny should lye in a full Senate, and praise Trajan for his Temperance and Chastity, though it be true that he was given to wine, and to another vice so foule, that it cannot honestly bee named; and yet they take it ill that being born the Kings Subject, I speak of him what no body can deny, and that resolving to present an example to Princes, I chuse rather his life, then Cyrus'es which is fabulous, or then that of Trajan which is not very cleane: Not to speake of Caesar Borgia's all black with Crimes and lazinesse: Heaven cannot make these people a Superior to please them; He that was after Gods own heart, would not bee after theirs: They would not find Solomon wise enough, nor Alexander valiant enough. They are generally enemies to all Masters, and the Accusers of all present businesses; they will breake a mans head with crying, that it was not necessary to make warre in Italy; but if you had staid at Paris, they had cryed louder, that it had bin dishonesty to suffer his Allyes to be lost. Because some of our Kings have made unfortunate voyages beyond the Mountaines, therefore they maintain that he who followes not the same Counsels, must neverthesse fall into the same misfortunes They fight against your managing of businesses with old Proverbs, because they cannot touch it with good reasons: They alleadge that Italy is the buriall place of the French, and being not able to observe one fault that you have committed in that Countrey, they reproach you with that of our Fathers, and accuse you of the imprudence of CHARLES the eight. I suppose they sinne rather out of infirmitie, then malice; that they are rather passionate through their opinions, then Pensionaries of

our Enemies; and that they have more need of the Remedies of Phisick, then of those of the Lawes.

Therefore it is a vexation to see the Impertinents of this Age hold the same language with the Rebels of the pass'd, and to abuse the benefit of Liberty against him that hath procured it for us. They come every day to tell me that wee shall receive much disadvantage from the discontent of a Prince which is separated from us; and I answer them, it is much better to have a weake Enemy to combate with, then a querulous friend to preserve.

They will have the King at any rate to relieve Casal, and I say he hath done it already by the Conquest of Savoy, and in the condition hee hath now put his affaires, at the worst, it will be taken onely to be surrendred againe. They are not content to have you execute extraordinary actions, They would have you doe impossible ones: And though there grow sometimes such difficulties in things which cannot be surmounted by reason of the repugnancy of the Subject, and not for the default of the undertaker, they are not answered with those reasons wherewith wise men rest satisfied, and many times would have the King doe that which the great Turke and the Persian joyn'd together cannot do.

All this, My Lord, would cause in mee a great indignation, neither should I bee able to indure that excesse of Ingratitude, but that I know there was a malicious spirit which found fault with the workes of God, and was not afraid to say, that had he bin of his Counsell, as well in the Creation of the world, as in the Government of it, he could have given him better advice then he had taken, and then usually he followed. After so high a folly you neede not think it strange that some men are extravagant; The Common People have alwayes beene an unequall Judge of vertue; but yet she hath never wanted admirers; and if those who have nothing but a little Instinct, and can onely murmur are not favourable to her, it is our part My Lord to beare witness that reasonable men, and those that know how to speake are of the good Party.

Aug. 4.
1630.

Your most humble and most obedient Servant

Balzac.

The Preface.

I Have been long enough in the world, but have lived onely during the last Autumne; and because it is not possible to recall those happy dayes which were so deare to me, I shall endeavour to retain some relish of them by remembrance and discourse. The liberty wherein I found my self after 3. years Captivity, (for so I call my abode in the City) the purity of the ayre which I began to breath, and as eagerly drew in, as if it had beene some new-found nourishment; the smiling face of the field, which yet shewed forth some part of its riches, and drest it selfe with the last presents it would bestow on us mortals, all these rendered my thoughts so delightfull and calme, that not at all stirred with the passion of joy, I remain'd possess'd of its pleasure.

Those other more importunate maladies of the soule, which torment the Court, and solemne Assemblies, did not at all approach our village; I knew not what it was to hope or feare; nor was I any longer acquainted with suspicion, distrust, or jealousy. All my owne passions were at rest, and those of others reach'd not me. Envie and hatred which are so cruelly fastened to that small shadow of good, which some men seemed to discern among my many faults, assaulting me where I was not, did mee no hurt that I felt; and the present objects did so fill my spirits, and so cleerely deface the impression of what had pass'd, that as they left no place for future apprehensions, so there remained no disquietnesse to trouble my memory.

In this condition, farre different from the tumult from whence I departed, and under the serenity of so benigne an Influence of heaven, I seemed to be really new borne, and to assist at this new production of all things. And truly had wee, during that season, obtain'd the Government of the world, and bin our selves permitted to make the dayes; we could not have had fairer; nor have dispensed shade and light, cold and heate with a more equall measure.

There arose a small thin mist from the neighbouring River which wrapp'd up as it were in a bottome, thence dispers'd it selfe over the surface of the earth. But for asmuch as it tarried not for the Sun to dispell it, neither could abide its first rayes, it never had so much strength as to ascend as high as our lowest windowes; and we injoy'd a most faire calme and lively brightnesse, whil'st there was some trouble and smoake below us. Before wee were drest and had said our prayers, that moysture which had bedewed onely the tops of the grasse, was wholly wiped off, and the freshnesse of the morning was no longer moist or sharpe, so that there was left a convenient time to take a walke till noone, and to do those exercises, which recreate the body without wearying it, and which moderately awaken the appetite without carrying it to a disorderly hunger, which commonly followes violent motions, and retaines something of a disease.

The former part of the afternoone, was pass'd over in familiar discourse; from whence we banish'd all affaires of State, controversies of Religion, and questions of Philosophy. There none eagerly disputed whether the Pope was above a Councell; no body troubled himself to unite the *Princes* of Christendome; to make a league against the *Turke*; It was not violently debated, who was the greatest Captaine, *Marquesse Spinola*, or *Count Tilly*: No body reformed Kingdomes, nor would change their Governments; It was not permitted so much as to name the publicke, nor the age; we talk'd of nothing but the goodnesse of our Melons, the reaping of our corne, the hope of our vintage. Our discourse once ended, the Company parted, and of foure which wee were, one went to the Groves, another to the Garden, a third to a Gallery where there were Cards and Tables; for me, I retir'd to my Chamber, and tried to slumber over a booke, as little serious as our former discourse had bin: But the day beginning to decline, and the remainder of the heate being now no more troublesome to be indured then the steam of a luke-warm Bath, I usually went a horseback, and rode from my lodging thorow a long alley of white mulberries, which led mee to the River; then whose Chrystall streames nothing could be seen more cleare and pleasant; and *Ronsard* doth great wrong to derive it

from *Acheron*, and to conceive that it is an arme of that dismall Lake, whose waters are represented to us so black and muddy: It is rather a continued fountaine from its first rise till it empties it self into the Sea; where, after it hath run 30. Leagues, it entereth so fresh and pure, as if but then it issued from the Spring head: It generally manures all that it watereth, and if the same Countrey be extreamly barren and extreamly fertile, they are the effects of its remotenesse & of its presence. At that part of it where I did chiefly rest my self, it runs beneath certain litle hills, which are green from the top to the bottome with a brushie wood which they bear; and the descent being very steep, you would say the trees are not planted there but tyed, or that they creep there, and not grow, they seem to have such slender hold. In some places the river is broad enough in others the channell so thrusts it selfe together, that the Pop lars which grow on each sid seem to kisse, and joyning thei boughes toge her, embrace one another with so handsome an evennesse, that an Arbour cannot bee better made if art and the workmans violence had twisted them.

There, not being able to do what *Scipio* and *Laelius* did at the Sea-side, where they onely counted the waves and gathered Cockles; I had the pleasure to behold in the bottome of the water those things which passed in the ayre, and to see that swim, which looking up I saw fly above.

This meditation entertained me whilst I expected the setting of the Sun, at what time I never failed to be in the middle of the meddow that I might consider at my ease that rich effussion of Colours which it sheds abroad at its withdrawing, and wherein the beames seem to be temper'd and allayd, thereby to render themselves supportable, sweetly mollifying its luster, if by that meanes it may favour the sight of the earnest beholder.

But having but a very short time to enjoy the contentment I received every evening in admiring this faire spectacle, and viewing those precious tracks it leaveth behind in the heaven, at its farewell, together with that diversity of Colours, which are produced at the dissolution of its rayes; there was no way to make me returne to my

lodging, but that night came on, and drawing a curtain over this glory, put a period to the magnificence of the sight which detained me abroad. And because so happy a season could not be long, I was willing to enjoy every instant; and I had so well managed the smallest parts of its stay, that I chose rather to take the coolnesse of the Even, then to lose the rest of the day. And as we double our embraces to persons whom wee love, when we are presently to part; and as old men more earnestly desire that life which they are now bidding adieu to: so had I the most violent passions for a Good which began to desert me, and which the neer approach of the winter threatned every houre to ravish from me. When I saw it begin to approach, I was not seen any longer to follow my former kinde of life, nor to do as I did heretofore many pieces of the afternoone. I was sociable but till noone, presently after I went abroad all alone, and had no patience till I came to my deare river; along which as I walked one day after my usuall custome, (and it was, if I remember, the very same day that we received the newes of the surrender of *Rochel*) I perceived on a suddain beyond the river I know not what yellow and blue, which appeared among the poplars, and made the weeds to shake. *Virgils Aeneid* which by chance I had in my hands, and where I was reading the Apparition of *Tyber* to *Aeneas*, which happened much after this manner, had so filled my spirits with the follies of Poetry, that I began to imagine that the fantasme which I discovered might be the God of our river: But I quickly corrected the extravagancy of my fancy, and saw distinctly a slaxen hair'd man which held toward me a blue plush bonnet: Whereat knowing that hee stood in need of my charity, & the channell being not narrow enough in that place to throw him that almes I would give him, I beckoned to a Fisherman, who was spreading his nets some twenty paces from me, to go fetch him over in his boate. He was a Gentleman of *Flanders* who came from *Spain*, and though very poore and ill clad, did notwithstanding give prooffe he was well borne, and of good education, though at present he were in very bad equipage. He told me that comming from *Loretto*, he was taken by a *Turkish* vessell, and carried to *Algiers* with some other Christians; who, to save the charges which they should have made by land, hired a Barque at *Ancona*, which was to carry them to *Marseilly*. He

told me a long story of his misfortunes; the bad entertainment he received from different Masters, which had bought him one from another, and the insupportable humour of the Last, who, having neither reason nor humanity, doubled all the employments of his service, and at last put him in such a condition, that being altogether unprofitable, he was constrained to leave him, for a Pistolet, to a Religious man of *Mercy*. He did not forget to describe to me those two terrible Prisons which are under the City of *Algier*, and which may very well be called the Sepulchers of the living; for there they interr every night twelve thousand Slaves, and let them out in the morning, to send them to their ordinary Labour. And certainly he did so please himself with this matter, and was so overwhelmed therewith sometimes, that I perceived very well, that his passed paines were his present contentments; and that the good which we hope for doth not more flatter our imagination, then the evill which wee have suffered contenteth our memory. I gave him then to oblige him, the most quiet and favorable hearing that he could desire from so curious an auditor: I interess'd my selfe in his disgraces by the frequent exclamations wherewith I accompanied that which he said, and suffered him to say the same thing over and over without interrupting him, that I might not seem to deprive him of that liberty, which he onely came to recover.

Thus having long heard him with content, I as'kd him many questions for my particular satisfaction, and perhaps wearied him to answer so many interrogatories. I desir'd to know what pollicy the *Moores* use, what customes they observe, and to what exercises they are addicted. Amongst other things he told mee, that every Friday they made publick prayers to God, to restore to them the Kingdome of *Granada*, and curs'd the memory of the last King, who could not defend it against *Ferdinand*. He inform'd me of many such particulars, which History never taught me, and though it were impossible to retain him longer then two dayes, whatever intreaty I made him, I received at my ease during that time all the profit he had drawn from a sad experience, and the multitude of his misfortunes.

But truly that which pleased me most in his discourse, and left me fully satisfied for the chance of meeting with him, was that after I had ask'd him if the *Moores* had as much curiosity as I, or if like other barbarous people, they lived in a profound ignorance of forraigne affaires; he made me answer, that there was no other discourse at this day in *Affrica*, but of the victories of our *King*, and that *Rochel* had been the Cause, that yeare, of a thousand wagers, and almost of as many quarrels; so far, that among the Slaves, a *Frenchman* being incensed against a *Spaniard*, who maintain'd it would never be taken, and that the *King* could never compass his end without the assistance of the *King of Spaine*, the *Frenchman* not able to indure that word, and having nothing to repulse it, made his chaines serve for weapons, wherewith he strook his fellow so violently, that he stretch'd him starke dead at the feet of their Common Master.

CHAP. I.

Certainly that action seemed to me so extraordinary, that if he that told me had not assured me of the truth thereof by most great and religious oathes, I must needs protest there was too much gallantry in it to be true. But I had no reason to suspect the testimonie he gave me, partly, for that it proceeded from the mouth of a Gentleman originally a *Spaniard of Flanders*, and consequently a Subject to the same *Prince* with him that was slain, as also for other sufficient considerations. I was ravished with content to see in the extreame old age of the world, and in the decay of all things, *France* should yet bring forth Children worthy the first vigour of their Mother. One so generous an example produced in me at the same time Love and Jealousie, I was extremely moved, and said within my self; Since poor Captives, who can hardly breath under the weight of their Irons, love a *Prince* so dearly, who hath not delivered them from slavery; and to say truly, having neither hands nor strength, do kill the enemies of his Crown by their bare courage: Since the Slaves of *Algier* become the Souldiers of *Lewis the Just*, and those that partake not at all in his prosperity, share neverthelesse in his glory; What pretence is there, that living in a Province, whereof he is more particularly the Freer then of the rest of *France*; and the principall fruit of his travels belonging to my Countrey, that I should behold with an indifferent mind so many good deeds which he hath done, and secretly enjoy, without speaking a word, a lazie and stupid felicitie? What shew of reason is there, that living in the field of victory, and seeing nothing round about me but people ransomed, and Enemies vanquished, that the presence of so glorious an object cannot stirre up my idle dulnesse, and furnish me with one generous thought? What colour is there, that I am not awakened at this great noise, which rising here, makes it self to be heard to the utmost parts of the earth, and that I receive no impression of a light so neer and full of luster; which spreading it selfe already over the Sea, shines forth even to the very Dens and Caves of the Barbarians.

We must be more lively touched with the good fortune of the Commonwealth, and take more knowledge of our proper happinesse; we must produce some act of our joy, if there be now no more time to give proofes of our courage, and give testimonie that wee love the State, though we have not bin in a condition to serve it. We must no longer rest in the slumber and silence

of admiration; Neither ought I to be the onely mute among the acclamations of the people, nor the onely unprofitable Artisan in the preparations for this triumph.

Yet now that I consider these things more calmly, and that I am return'd out of that extasie wherewith I was transported, I am afraid that the poverty of the place where I am, will not furnish mee with any thing wherewith I may worthily enough take pains in so noble and glorious an employment: We have no quarreys of Marble, nor mines of gold, whence I may take out those ornaments which I desire.

The wealth of *Paris* is not found in our village; our Land sufficeth for necessity, but affords us no delicates. In vain also do I seek for the conversation of another, and look after the helps of conference, beholding no objects but those that speake not at all; and passing my life among dead things and inanimate. What can trees and rocks teach me? what agreement is there between Husbandry and the Politickes? whom can I consult where I find no body? Since the Court is so farre distant, Newes growes old before it comes to our hands? Am not I one of the last to whom the renown is brought? or do I know any thing till it is published and in print. I have gained the knowledge of many things in the world no otherwayes. No body hath furnished me with Commentaries and instructions to supply the want of that knowledge which I have not. I walke without a guide and without company. All the advantages which another might have I am destitute of, and I protest, I am very ill provided of necessary abilities to undergoe the dignity of that designe I now take in hand. Yet I feele my self, as it were, compelled to venture abroad in this occasion. It is not possible for me to resist that inward motion which driveth me forward.

I cannot hinder my selfe from speaking of the *King* and of his vertue: to cry aloud to all Princes, that this is the example which they ought to follow; to aske all people and all ages of the world, if they have ever seen any such like thing. A *Hermite* is about to speak his advice of the most magnificent and stateliest thing in an active life. I will throw my selfe with my single common sense into the greatest affaires of Christendome: I will crosse the Sea in a wicker-boate. Wherefore I doubt not what extreame hazard I run, and how much I am in danger to be ship-wrack'd in the very Haven. My

rashnesse cannot prove successefull but by a miracle; I can only make my selfe remarkeable by my errours: It will easily be seen by the mistakes in my writings, that I am a stranger to the world, and the inhabiter of a desert.

Yet forasmuch as herein I exercise no civill nor military charge; I give no arrests nor leade men to warre, and a private man may faile and his errours not be dangerous, I comfort my selfe, that mine shall no wayes injure my Countrey, and that my grossest ignorance shall not cost her the life of the most unprofitable Citizen. I utterly renounce whatever I have pretended to in the art of speaking well, to acquit me of an action of pietie: my reputation is not so deare to me as my duty; and I had rather you should blame my zeale then my roughnesse, my violence then my lazie slacknesse: I aime not at glory, I only satisfie my conscience. And if it be true, that no body is more sensible of the enjoyment of rest, then he that can taste it by the rules of Philosophie, which teacheth one his dutie well enough, though it give nothing wherewith to be discharged of it; I should commit a fault if making profession of so noble a study, I did not rise from the effects to the Cause, and did not give in some prooffe of acknowledgement toward the second founder of this State; By whose benefit I live here in safety upon the borders of *Charante*: I consider at my ease the diverse beauties of nature, and possesse without trouble all the riches of the Countrey.

CHAP. II.

THose formidable fortresses which hindered us from beholding the heavens; which were built with the bloud and teares of our Fathers, and whose shadow was so tragicall to three neighbouring Provinces, do now no more threaten our libertie. The *Asylum* of wicked men is fallen to the ground, there remains nothing but ruines which are shewed to passengers: The Church hath its revenge for those holy places which were beaten down, and for those Images which were broken to pieces. There is not so much as a hole or Cave for that furious beast to retire into, which brake in even to our very gates, and returned proud and fierce with the trophies of our spoiles. She is now exposed to the sports and laughter of children, she is become the wonder and astonishment of the people. She hath onely her heart left to defend her selfe with, her teeth and nayles are broken off. It was certainly no small enterprise, and which needed no lesse courage then that of the *King*:

And when I consider that our own Brothers were our naturall Enemies, and that there was more difference between two *Frenchmen*, then between a *Frenchman* and a *Moscovite*; and that now this brave *Prince* hath reconciled us by his victorie, and we are all united in his service, I see a Conquest which can offer it selfe to his ambition, able to countervail this he hath already obtained.

The advantages which arise hence have very much lustre to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar, and they have as much solidity to content the judgements of the wise. The glory which accrues to him carryeth as much true weight as glittering pompe; it is the perfect Cure of the Kingdome, and no vain ornament to the Historie of our *King*.

And indeed, besides that he hath taken more Townes then are in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and *Sicilie* that he hath so often weakened the *Stranger*, and so often made him return with dishonour, that he hath alwayes made him receive losses or affronts: Besides that he hath put a yoake upon the proudest part of Nature; that he hath planted artificiall rocks in the Sea to ship-wracke the Fleets of his Enemies; and that the strength of his resolution, hath surmounted the violence of the Elements and of the Starres: We may further adde this truth, that he hath made all the world wise, and hath got other Subjects, and another people; and that the conditions to which he hath reduced the factious, are such, that the worst they can do, is to wish ill, and to desire that the times may change.

The Peace which he hath procured us, is certainly a more substantiall and durable good then all those we have seen. It is neither the necessitie of affaires, nor the wearisomnesse of the warre, nor the consideration of his divers events which hath obliged him to bestow it upon us; It hath flowed freely from his owne good disposition, after an intire and full victorie; after the last roote of evill was cut, and that things were put out of the power of Fortune. It is built upon the destruction of whatever could trouble it, and our rest is so firmly and securely established that if the Admirall of — and the Marshall of — should return into the world, with all their subtleties, and cunning plots, they would not be able to give us one false alarme. We need not feare then that those great Spirits, who have kept the age in perpetuall unquietnesse, who have raised stormes in the serenity of the most halcyon

dayes, and who now would remain idle knowing not how to doe us hurt, have left Schollers more cunning then themselves, and more ingenuous, for the ruine of their Countrey.

We need not feare (as heretofore) that the discontents of some particular men should beget publick miseries, nor that the first motion of their anger should be followed with the taking of Townes, and the desolation of the Countrey. All their ill humours will spend themselves for the future in their closet, and against their domestick servants: They will grow angry at lesse charges then they did, when there were not offices and governments enough to appease them. The State will be no more troublesome to be governed, then a well ordered house: All will obey from the children to the hirelings, and that multitude of *Kings* who have so long shared *France*, will at last be brought to the common right, and render to one that Sovereignty which was divided among many.

Who is there thinke you, that would adde his own misfortunes to those of another, and follow the example of those men who have lost themselves, or who appear yet wet, and come forth dropping from the wrack? who can so much as dreame of new stirres and tumults if he but call to mind what he hath seen, which he may hope to do if he have not altogether lost his memory? what rashnesse shall he be guiltie of who shall place himself before that impetuous prosperity which hath master the *Bearne*, *Guienne*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphine*? or where shall a poor rebell hide himself, when neither on the one side, the labour of 60 yeares, and the industry of all the Mathematicians of *Europe*; nor, on the other side, the Sea and England were able to protect *Rochel* in his disobedience? There is nothing so strong by nature, nor of such perfection by the art of men, that can resist the presence of the *King*. There is no greatnesse but humbleth it self before his: There is not any cunningnesse of contrivance, which proves not weake against his prudence.

Those places which have indured the fury of the Cannon these 10 yeares, will surrender themselves at the first view of his summons: Two lines signed with his hand, and carried by a Lackey, will make them obey, who the other day would have required Treaties of peace, and Articles of Conference to enter with ceremony into their duty. Let him but command any one to

come and render him account of his actions, he will not deliberate whether he ought to go or no, though he may very well feare the successe of his journey; he will bring his head, and not send a Declaration. Let him when ever he pleaseth release Prisoners; they are not lesse in his power for being at libertie, he will not disseise himself of their persons, he will onely enlarge the circuite of their prison; He will only hold them by a longer chaine then formerly he did, and permitting them to live with the rest of his Subjects, he will only increase the number of their keepers; so that tortures and punishments will bee no more needfull in his Kingdome; Men will not make use any more of those harsh remedies which the weaknesse and impotency of some have put in execution, and which cannot preserve the whole without the losse of some one part. The State will maintaine it self by the reputation of the *Prince*, and the *Prince* will be revered by his sole authoritie.

I speak of that which remains for him to do in *Languedoc*, as of a thing already done; His fortune is too well known to us to doubt of the successe of an action, which, as things now stand would be easie for an unfortunate man to compasse; things would throng to be surrendred to him.

Wise men will not search for glory in a false reputation of constancy: They will take counsell of their present condition, without remembring themselves to no purpose of their past prosperitie. They will not stay till necessity force them to beg peace in a white sheet, and will chuse rather to trust a word that cannot faile, then walls which may be taken. Let the worst come, hee will fight against people, whom he hath bin used to conquer, and being no longer upheld but with some small despaire which supports them, they will presently sinke under his forces, and lye prostrate before his courage and good fortune. There is no need that our Heretickes make any more account of Heads of Parties, of Townes, nor of Assemblies, they will have nothing left them but their heresie, which being stript naked, and despoil'd of these humane advantages which covered its naturall deformity will every day loose its old Patriots, and get no new ones.

Some may perhaps hold up still for commodity; and because it troubleth lazie people to remove from one place to another; yet no body will stand still to be knock'd in the head, and the most obstinate will not torment themselves to dispute an unfortunate cause, so often and so solemnly lost; forsaken of

God and men, *M.* the Mareschall of— and *M.* the Mareschall of — the most advised and considerable of that Sect, are inhabitants of *Paris*, and the King is not lesse assured of them then of the *Provost* of the Merchants. One of them is glutted with civill warre; the other would never yet tast it, and both of them know well enough what slavery it is to command Rebels, amongst whom, besides that the best actions have need to be abolished, and that their victories are parricides, and that there is no hope to receive an honourable death; they can moreover neither bring nor find confidence, because it is an act of merit to deceive them, and in deserting these party men do their duty.

CHAP. III.

FOR *M* de — I doe not believe that hee is of an incurable disposition, and that he followes evill by election: The Tempest hath thrown him into the Revolt, and he knowes very well, that the worst place about the King is better then the Generalship of his Army. Hee doth well to be active and laborious, his enterprises are like the startings of a man in a dreame, he takes pains and troubleth himself to no purpose. We cannot do things in despite of heaven; he seeth a superiour power, which overturnes from on high all his designes, and all humane prudence brought down by the force of destinie.

Furthermore in what place soever he is, he is slave to a world of *Masters*, and feares as much his owne side as his Enemies; his authoritie which hath no foundation but the passion of the Common people, is built upon the muddle; it depends upon the fancy of an *Artisan* which believes he hath right to demand reason of whatever he doth, or leaveth undone, and to call him traytour as often as he shall be unfortunate. The firmest servant that he hath is not made triall of under a thousand crownes pension: Hee hath not one man under his command which yields him true obedience, and to whom he must not promise one thing to obtain another: They all generally thinke to be equall to him by the society of the same fault, and that every one hath an equall share in that power which belongeth lawfully to no body: So that to preserve this vain Image of a fancied command, hee must governe them with dishonest arts, and at first must allow of licence even against his own person.

He must be the Flatterer and corrupter of his own Army, and must every day invent newes to entertain their hopes; He must compose Prophecies to

amuse the credulous, and assure them that the *Casimirs* shall passe the *Loyre*, and overrunne *France* once more with their *Lansquenets* and *Reisters*. And after this he must counterfeit letters from *Bethlem Gabor*, signifying that the *Turke* is making hast towards them, because *England* and *Germany* have failed; and in the very apprehension of his approaching ruine, and amidst all the horrors of desperation, hee must have all the countenances and appearances of a contented man. In the meane time I am confident for these two yeares he hath received no other joyes but those which miserable men feelee betweene their sentence and execution. The bad dayes that he spends are not followed with better nights; and if he would take any rest, in the meane time his imagination which wakeneth, represents to him a mutiny in the Campe, or a sedition in the City, which seiseth him to make their peace more advantageous, or one of his own who holds a ponyard at his brest, or the angry incensed countenance of his Master, who reproacheth him with his Felony, and at last abandons him to the ordinary course of Justice. Certainly if one could see the torments and Agitations of his poore soule, I doubt not but it would move him to compassion.

Wee have not one Voluntiere in all our Troopes who would change conditions with this unfortunate Generall; and who understands not in this sense the words which *Homer* speakes to his *Achilles*, That those who obey in this world are better then those that command in hell.

It is no hard matter then to believe, if he were to beginne againe but he would preferre a voluntary banishment before the condition of being head of a party, and that now looking at the future, which presents nothing but what is sad and Tragicall, he already envieth the prisoners of *Bois de Vincennes* which expect at least in rest the mercy of the King. He looketh on all sides how he may get out of this confusion of various misfortunes, and seeketh for a passage to returne to his duty: But there are no degrees in a precipice; We never see them go up againe who have throwne themselves downe thence, and there is no lesse danger for a man to be discharged of Tyranny, then there was to beginne it. *Phalaris* was ready to desert it, but he demanded a God for Caution, who should bee responsible for his life, if he dispoiled himselfe of his authority. And it hath ever been a common opinion that those that have taken up armes against their Country or their Prince, are in some sort reduced to a necessity to do ill, by reason of the little security they can find in doing

well: They dare not become innocent for feare of putting themselves to the mercy of the Lawes which they have offended, and do continue their faults, because they conceive no body is satisfied with their repentance. Yet the goodnesse of the King may assure the spirits whom these *Maximes* would have affrighted; It is not subject to the rules of vulgar pollicy, and is in a condition to sweeten, and change them at his pleasure.

The rigour and courtesie which is used in the uncertainty of events, and in the violence of doing ill, are the effects rather of necessity then of vertue. There are, to speake truely, honest and specious feares which give testimony that we would not have powerfull enemies, when wee do the worst we can to ours; and when we deale gently with them, that we expect also like entertainment: But the continuall prosperity of the King, leaves no place for such thoughts, it taketh away all suspicion of hypocrisie from his vertue, and leaveth it to his choice to use justice or mercy as seemeth him best. He onely can recover *M. de*— from the extremity he is fallen into, and affoord him a meanes, how hee may purchase a glorious death in some forraine occasion, which looketh at his service, or to passe a quiet old age in the feasts and triumphs of the Court. His hands are not shortned since his last deeds of Clemencie. And if they extend themselves towards one that sinneth with remorse; who hath not forgotten his name nor his birth, and who certainly deserves to be preserv'd; Men will praise him every where, for that after he hath suppres'd the pride of the Rebels, he doth not quarrell with the misfortune of the afflicted.

I dare not say that the Authors of the revolt who have denied their *Prince*, and would sell their Countrey to a stranger, ought to receive so favourable an entertainment, or that there should faile to be some example to appease the soules of the dead, and to give satisfaction to the publike.

The *King* neverthelesse can doe herein that which no body can aske him a reason of; and the sweetnesse of his disposition hath oftentimes corrected the severity of the office he dischargeth: But when he would be liberall of his injuries, in pardoning those who have so sensibly offended him, what should they do with that Grace, which they cannot possibly enjoy, in the midst of a provoked Nation? What use could they make of liberty if it were more dangerous to them then a prison? Or what good were it to escape the Justice

of the *Parliament* to be exposed to the vengeance of the people? They are so odious in the whole Kingdome, that they can onely goe abroad in the night. The most tenderest natures are not touched with their disgraces, and though it be the nature of misfortune to move compassion in those that behold it, they are hated as if they were not at all miserable.

It comes into mens minds that they have alwaies kindled those combustions which we have seen; that they have been the first perjur'd, and the first breakers of the publike faith, that they rays'd commotions when trouble it selfe was at rest, and have advanced the insurrection of their party by the impatiency of their own Rebellion; It will be remembred, how in a full peace they they were the Pirats of our Seas, and the violators of the freedome of our Havens; That they oppos'd themselves to the greatnesse of *France*; That they envied the glory of the *King*, and averted his inclination from a noble enterprise out of this Kingdome, by domesticke hinderances which they rais'd within. We know that they have divided Kings, and broken the Alliances of the Crown; That their seditious speeches have spread the fire, and blown it on all sides; That they endeavoured to stirre up all *Europe* against their Country; That they have been at the end of the world to seek enemies for us; and have made so small account of the name of *France*, that they were not ashamed to waite the rising of a *Favorite of England*, and to bow the knee before a forraine power. The Rebels abroad do look upon them as the evill Angels which tempted them, and inspired them with the first fury of Arms, which have succeeded so unluckily.

It is very true that they pressed the succours which came to them, and have made use of our Neighbours with affection and care; But they have not been so good Conductors of their Troops, as good Soliciters of their affaires; and after they had prepared the War and engaged Souldiers, they have for the most part alwaies contented themselves to give bold counsells, and to deliberate courageously; Thus they have thrust those upon dangers whom they should have led thither; who reproach them continually with their wounds and their losses, and believe they commit a crime to live after the ruine of their Party.

They are in no better esteeme among strangers, and if it were possible to gather the voices of all people together, they would be condemned by the Common Jury of mankind, and driven from all the Sanctuaries of the earth.

CHAP. IV.

NOW without doubt, as I conceive, the extreame hatred which is born them comes from the extreame love men have to the *King*. The injuries which are done to a just Prince excite universall resentments, and appertaine to the whole Common-wealth. Every man is a Souldier against the Enemies of most excellent vertue; there is none so uninterested whom it doth not ingage into her party; none so cold, in whom she doth not move passion; nor so contrary that she changeth not: In what place soever she sheweth her selfe, she gaines esteeme, which is the foundation of authority; afterward she produceth more pleasant and tender longings, and never leaveth, those that she combates and pursues the liberty not to love her. Wee see the inhabitants of sacked Cities, reverencing the vertue of their destroyers; who blesse the thunder that smote them, and acknowledge that the warre which was made against them, was neither any headlong motion of anger, nor any effect of an evill will towards them; but a necessary conclusion of all the principles of wisdom, and the only remedy which could put them in a better condition: They confesse they enjoy in the losse of *Rochel* that security which they could not find in her prodigious fortifications, and complain no more of their fall since they lye in the bosome of their Father. They make it not strange to protest that they are obliged to the victory of the *King* for their peace and tranquility, who hath given them leisure to attend their particular employments, in discharging them of those of their party: And since neither their life, their liberty, nor their fortune was touched, in ridding them of those places which did not belong to them, they are freed from nothing but cares, unquietnesses and troubles.

As the most impetuous and coldest winds grow milde and gentle sometimes passing thorow a temperate region: so the most severe and harshest actions retain something of the quality of the person that undertakes them, and loose some part of their sharpnesse and austerity in the managing of so prudent and well advised a *Prince*; The *King* hath handled this matter with so much discretion, that in doing justice he received prayses from the

mouths of the guilty; and hath carryed his resentment to a full satisfaction of the offence which he had received, without and bitterness in his proceeding, or motion in his mind. He acted no more then the Lawes, which ordain tortures and punishments without being at all in anger, and are never passionate, though they may be harsh and inflexible.

All the world admired the subtlety of that hand which at the same time saved the body and slew the Serpent twisted about it; who hath innocently employed the sword, and the fire, rigour and vengeance; who hath exercised so charitable an hostility, that the vanquished do at this day give thanks to the victor. He enjoyeth therefore by good right the favour of the Universe, and the good will of both sides: In so just an affection the *Hugenote* is a rivall with the *Catholique*; all *France* is equally in love with her *King*: And though in parting so far from her he hath left her peace and other precious ingagements; Though he acquires no glory but only for her, and every day sends home Trophies of honour, yet she cannot comfort her self with his absence, who hath placed her in so high a degree of reputation in seperating her from him. She envies the good fortune of his Enemies, who at least behold that face which makes them tremble, and enjoy that light which dazzleth them.

Our eyes which are never satisfied with the same objects, but would alwayes have change of beauties, and which are sometimes troubled at the day, and light it selfe, are never weary in looking upon our Prince. When he hath passed one street, the people runne to another to have a second sight of him; and yet it is not the externall forme which we so earnestly follow after, though Philosophers esteeme it the third part of the supream good. Our affection is more spirituall, and more remote from sense; we are attracted by a farre nobler force: I have already said that he hath gained us by his merit: By this he raigne in the hearts of his Subjects, and consequently possesseth the place of the truest affections, that where mee bestow their wives and children, and other things which are deare unto them; The place which hath resisted the power of Conquerours, which hath held out against *Caesar*, which is shut to those to whom the gates of Castles stand open, which retaineth its liberty when Tyranny overwhelmes the whole earth.

Certainly if people have some times had violent passions for those *Princes* whom they could never know, and who had done them neither good nor hurt: If *Rome* idolized young *Marcellus* who yet shewed forth only some signes and presages of a future greatnesse, and which was extinguished assoon as it began to shine.

If for this end he were the short and unhappy loves of the people of *Rome*, who bewail'd his death most bitterly, and was extreemly afflicted for loosing only that which they hoped to injoy, that is to say, for loosing what they never had; it would be a shame if benefits already received should find lesse acknowledgement then such as are in a possibility of being received; That wee should make lesse reckoning of a true and reall possession, then others have of an imaginary and desired one. That *Rome* admired the buds and blossomes of an inclination to good, and *France* not be ravished to gather the fruit of a ripe and consummated vertue.

It would be a great injustice if a *Prince* who hath conquered and travelled so much for us, have not bin able to make himself acceptable by his pains and victories; if Crowns and acclamations should be wanting to him after the safety of the State, and quiet of the Church which he hath procured, and if perfect obligations should produce but ordinary and vulgar resentments.

CHAP. V.

I Suppose no body will accuse me for playing the Oratour, or being willing to aggravate small things. I offend rather in defect then excesse, and am farther from extreams which they lash into who abuse their wit, then from that lownesse which they fall into who have none at all. My designe is neither to gain beliefe to a falshood, nor to bring blandishments to a truth: We live not under those unfortunate Raigns where to speak well of their *Master* it is necessary to speak improperly; and to call every thing by another name.

In those times when a *Prince* exercised great cruelties, they said he made great examples; he received thanks for all actions for which he deserved blame: When he paid Tribute to his Enemies they would perswade

him that he gave pensions to his neighbours, and changed an effect of bondage into a marke of superiority. They praised his valour for having once put his horse into a rage, or seeming to signe with regret a treaty of peace.

There was no flight so shamefull but had the reputation of an honourable retreat: They cal'd him *Lyon* whom they durst not call *Wolfe*, and generally turned all words from their true and ancient signification, that so they might disguise all things. An Emperour hath triumphed over the Ocean for having led an Army from *Rome* to *Calais*, and for being content, having looked upon the Sea, to make his Souldiers gather Cockles upon the shore.

There have bin who have tyed to their Charrets of gold white men whom they had black'd over, without taking pains to go and conquer Ethiopia: others have cloathed *Romans* in the habite of *Persians* to make a shew of Prisoners from those Provinces which they never vanquished: and all sorts have not wanted Oratours who have conjur'd them in the name of the Publick, not to hazard their Persons any more in so dangerous occasions, and to use their courage for the future, with more staidnesse and moderation Flattery hath given *Majestie* to those Sovereigns that would have had much adoe to find their State in the Map: It blesseth the unjust dominions, and makes vowes for the prosperity of the wicked: It buildeth Temples to those who have not deserved Sepulchers; and they flatter their memory when they can no longer flatter their Persons. One swears that he saw *Romulus* ascend into heaven armed at all points, and that he commanded him to go and give the Senate notice thereof.

Claudius the weake, is made a God, as well as *Augustus the wise*; one and the same authoritie halloweth their ashes and designs them Celestiall honours: *Priests* are ordained, Incense burnt, Sacrifices offered to the soule of a dull stupid *Emperour*; to him, who in the judgement of his own mother, was but the abortive beginning of a man.

There is not at this day any *Prince* so mean, in whom the Prophetie of the ruine of the *Turke* must not be fulfilled, if we must believe some paultry book which hath bin made in favour thereof. There have ever bin in Courts Idols and Idolaters; There hath bin lazinesse where ever there hath bin Tyranny: Authoritie, though never so unjust and odious, hath at all times bin

adored; But observe also it hath bin by Persons who were fearfull, or had need of it; who were either Subjects, or Dependants; For else these forced honours have lasted no longer then their slavery, and have bin payed only there, where it was dangerous to withhold them.

The first beame of *Liberty* hath laid the foundation of all *Statues* which have bin erected to wicked *Princes*. That ambitious man who had filled the Capitall City of *Greece* with his own, outlived all those faire Monuments of his vanity, and had the grief, before he dyed, to see them made utensiles for a Kitchin. In many places, at the same time when they cry, *God save the King*, they wish him dead. Oftentimes they mock that privatly, which they admired in publick, and strangers have given the lye to those Histories which Domesticks have published.

Being to speak of the *King*, we shall not runne this fortune; the *Escuriall* values him as much as the *Lovire*. His reputation obtaines reverence afarre off, as well as neere: He is praised even in the Closet of his Enemies; and this voice is heard loud enough among our neighbours: *Who can resist us if we have so brave a Master?* So that I speak nothing that's new to any, nothing but what is confirmed upon common reputation, which the *Germans* and the *Spaniards* will say, as well as I. It is no *Elegie* nor *Panogyrick* which I write; It is a testimony which I pay this Age and Posteritie. It is a Confession which the right of Nations, and Universall Justice will extort from the mouths of all men: Even those men who are separated from us the breadth of the Sea, who behold another day and other stars, are not ignorant of this truth, and are astonished, that there is in *Europe* something more excellent and more perfect then the power that they obey.

I am not troubled to enlarge the subject of my discourse; it is so diffus'd and vast, that I know not where to bestow that which remains: I leave much more then I take, and find fewer words than things.

This encounter at once discover the barrennesse of my wit, the poverty of my language, the weakness of my Rhetoricke; It is a Science which hath deceived me, and from whence I expected greater helps. Its liveliest Colours are too dull to represent so glorious and bright a life as that of the *Kings*: Its strongest Figures can but slowly follow, and at a distance, a courage; All

termes are inferiour to his actions, and therefore let us acknowledge the advantage which our matter hath, as well over our understanding, as our art. They bestow blandishments upon others, but we must take away some from hence and endeavour not to spoil that which cannot possibly be adorned.

CHAP. VI.

I Will not prevent the judgement of the Church, nor answer for a vertue, which God hath not yet rewarded with the felicities of another life. I only say, there is no body in the world that knoweth that the *King* sins, and the boldest and most unjust reproach, which can be fastened upon holy things, can find nothing to object against his actions, with any colour.

Are there any children that complain that the *Prince* is heire to their fathers? Are there any Fathers who beg for those children which the *Prince* hath ravished from them, and who weep over them before they are dead? Where is that beauty which he permits not to be chaste? where are the Ministers of his cruelty and of his pleasure? In what place hath he shed one drop of innocent blood? where are the cries and groans heard of those families which he hath made desolate? Shew me at last but one mark by which Posterity may know that he was young. When youth and power meet together, they are capable of producing strange effects even to set the whole world in a combustion: It is a Conjunction much like that in the heavens, when two stars equally malignant meet and if the violence which ordinarily accompanieth this age, is not supportable in a private condition, though the fear of the Lawes restraining it, and though it be bound in with a thousand chaines; I leave you to think what it may do being armed with the forces of a great Kingdome, having Magistrates and Justice at its feet, and finding no hinderance for its desires, nor limits to its power.

Behold yet a man, who in the flower of his age, and in a soveraigne fortune, allows his passions no more liberty then what wisdom ordaines, and shuts up from them that large passage which *Majestie* sets open. Behold a man who can abstaine in the midst of plenty, and when he hath an appetite; who by his vertue knows how to set bounds to a power which hath none at all; and though a *Prince*, leades a more modest and regular life then the meanest Citizen in the smallest Republick! Behold under the Lawes and in

his Duty, him, who seeth nothing but Heaven above him, who can sinne against none but God onely; Who weares a Crown as Independent as any in the world can be; and f r whom, the Church, which spends her thunders upon all others heads, hath nothing but blessings and graces: He, I say, payes so perfect an obedience to reason; and manageth his actions with so exact an honestie, that I seem, in stead of the King of *France*, to see the King of *Lacedemon*, who had no other advantage above his Subjects, but that he was suffered to be more valiant, and to commit fewer faults.

I wonder not that sinne is so little known in Villages, and that men preserve their innocence where it is hard to lose it. That man is very unfortunate that drownes himself where there is scarce water enough to quench his thirst; and who falls down when no body pusheth him. But when al the powers of hell rise up at once to assault him; when his eies, his eares, and all the other inlets of his heart are beseiged, and that the enemy seeks to enter at every gate, he doth certainly, as it were, more then he ought, if he withstand such violent onsets, and resist so many assailants.

When pleasant objects presse him and pursue him on all sides, and the end of the fairest things is to render themselves worthy of his love. When the sparkling of Diamonds kindles in his soule a desire to have them, and the bignesse of the Jewel sets him a lingring after it; and for the small account he makes of wronged Majestie, all that is anothers may presently become his. When Fortune her self opens him a passage to the conquest of the Universe, and disposeth all things so for him, that for all the paine of the execution she leaveth him only the glory of the successe; when it depends only upon himself that he turnes not his Neighbour out of house and home, and that within fifteen daies he removes not the Frontiers of his State fiftie leagues: He must needs love vertue very well who will not forsake her, in an encounter where vice offereth so large a reward, if he will follow her, and when he hath great pretences in another world, to contemne the blessings and hopes of this here.

Philosophie, though never so presumptuous, hath not been able to arrive thus far, and whatever vanity she boasts of; She promiseth much but often breaketh her word. She hath courage enough to aspire to perfection, but wanteth ability to compasse it; This force is proper and particular to the

faithfull, who can do all in Him that helpeth them It is nothing but the *Morality of Jesus Christ* which can forme so excellent an habite; and it is This which raiseth the *King* so much above the great ones of the world and placeth him so neer the beginning of all greatnesse; that though apparantly there be nothing more eminent then sovereignty, yet he must descend from a higher place, and debase himself as often as he will sit upon the Throne of his Fathers, and communicate with Mortalls. He already beholds the earth as those that look down upon it from Heaven; Nothing appeare great to him in so small a space: He finds nothing worthy whereon to rest his thoughts, or to take up his desires: All that it containes will but half fil him; The only enjoyment of God is capable to satisfie so large a heart; which so is it, to say no more, his love and Ambition, his part and inheritance. The People and States which he governes are but consequences to this, and Accessories.

That which takes pleasure to crown *Shepheards*, and to put *Kings* in chaines, (which is equally cursed and adored in the world;) Fortune I meane, causeth all her disorders below him, and is too weak to attach his constancy, too poor to tempt his moderation. He knows no prosperous, or ill fortune, but a good and bad conscience. He is much more glorious by his Baptisme then his Coronation, and values more the least priviledge of Grace, then all the advantages of Nature. Never was any mind better perswaded of what we expect hereafter, then his; nor ever did any receive more lively impressions of Truth, or think higher of the dignity of Christianity, or exhibite fairer and more glorious demonstrations of his Beliefe.

CHAP. VII.

LEt no man talk to me of that dull imitation of Piety which only looks for Spectators; which amusethe world with countenances, and busieth it self rather to order the motions of the head, and to appear in certain postures of the face, then to regulate the affections of the soule: This is a meer action of the body, and of very easie performance; the greatest dissability is corrected at the first tryall; There needeth neither strength nor industry, and requires no more pains then those easie sports which recreate without wearying, and are learnt without a Master.

It is a kind of laziness disguised under an honest name then its own; or at most, but a faint and idle employment, which a man may very worthily discharge, when he can do nothing, and which is wholly taken up either in mumbling some confused words, or in a meer moving of the lips, or lastly in a soft glance of the eyes after a counterfeited sadness.

There is another kind of false Devotion more dangerous then this; I mean that fearful trembling devotion, which imagines that God is busied in his Blessed rest, only to prepare pain and punishments for him; and that he afflicts Kingdoms and sends pestilence and famines, only for the hatred he bears them. Visions go forth as in a throng of his troubled imagination, which afterward come before him as so many strange and unknown Monsters.

There passeth no night but the Ghosts of dead men appear unto him, with strange shapes and fearful attendance, which his fancy bestowes upon them. He never heares a cry in the night but he believes it to be the complaint of a departed soule; If he see one part of the ayre blacker and more thick then another, he presently conceives it a phantasme. All maladies are with him Possessions, and where there is need only of a Physitian, he makes use of *Exorcists*.

This so weakens the spirit and abates the courage, that those that are smitten with it, dare not enjoy themselves in time of peace, nor defend themselves in the necessity of warre. One foolish dream is enough to make them desist from a good designe; of five dayes they reckon foure unluckie, and make choise of those houres and moments, which they have marked with white, before they undertake any the least businessse; so that oftentimes the opportunity slips over before they have fix'd their resolution. They are half-overcome at the croaking of a Raven, or at the meeting of a Weezell, and they so fondly cherish their error, that to keep up the credit of their opinion, they will rather deliver themselves to their Enemies, then suffer one omen to prove false.

These men adore all their suspicions, and their doubts; They make Saints by their own private authority, without tarrying till they are dead, or for the Oracle of the supream Bishop. They give Divine honours to those that are yet subject to humane infirmities; who are lyable to the inquisition, and

know not whether they are worthy of love or of hatred; yet these superstitious ones canonize them in their hearts, in despite of *Rome* and the Consistory; and passing from an extream fear to an extream rashnesse, and from the despaire of their own salvation to the distribution of glory to another, they addresse their vows to them, and pray unto them as if already they were in a state to hear their petitions, and being guilty themselves could notwithstanding pardon their companions.

After this the grossest and the fullest bodies appear to them transparent and full of light; There's not a haire of the head which they reverence, but seemes to them a ray of its Crown; They think that to be a Saint in an extasie, which is but a woman in a swoone: They swear that they have revelations of things to come, and yet they scarce know the ordinary news of the time when one hath told them. In their opinion, it is as easie to raise a dead man, as to awaken one asleep.

If you will believe them, the world is continually troubled with prodigies, and they can more easily perswade themselves, that something happens contrary to the ordinary course of nature, then that he that relates it should be a lyar. The calmest fits of so troublesome a maladie are not without much extravagancy. There are who to marry more Christianly, have taken wives out of the Stewes, that so (as they say) they may gain souls to our Lord.

Some being to receive money which was due to them, have bin scrupulous to receive it in *Jacobissis*, because they come from an excommunicated Countrey: Others have confessed they serv'd the State in its troubles, and yet were not of the league; And I know some who believe, they are bound in conscience to betray their Countrey, and give advice to the contrary Party, because the holy scripture hath commanded them to do good to their Enemies.

CHAP. VIII.

YEt the most of these contain themselves within the bounds of an innocent folly; their will is entire, though their judgement be corrupted: They are deceived by some shadow and Image of Religion which is presented to

them, but they make not use of Religion to deceive others; nor subject to their particular designs that which ought to be the Queen and Mistresse of all humane things. We see then Cheaters in the world, who appear to be what they are not, and praise justice that they may be more unjust afterwards. There are *Pharisees* who make clean the outside of the cup, being full of rapine and filth within; who build the Sepulchres of the Prophets, and erect Monuments of Saints, whom they are still ready to kill, if they should returne into the world again to tell them the Truth, and reprove their wicked life. The judgement which is made of the goodnesse of things by their meer outside and externall appearance, is not alwaies infallible: Sometimes a lye is more likely then Truth, and wickednesse makes a fairer shew then goodnesse it self. No man doubts but that it is a work of mercy to redeem prisoners, to pay the debts of miserable men, to distribute corne to the people in time of dearth; and yet in well-ordered Common-wealths, men have been punished for exercising such works of mercy, and many wicked Citizens have by this meanes made themselves Tyrants.

How many false Philosophers have there been, who under an austere visage have concealed most inordinate affections; who have despised glory out of pride not humility; who have professed poverty to make *Princes* reverence them. In the scrip of that famous *Cynick* who lived in the dayes of *Lucian*, where one would have thought there was nothing but beanes and course bread, were found a bale of Dice, a box of Perfumes, and the portraiture of a woman. He that you think is fled into the wilderness to be at leasure to contemplate, with lesse disturbance, is gone thither, perhaps, to make false money with more securitie.

We have heard of a *Prince* who retired himself very orderly every Holy-day into religious houses, and there, while people thought that he examined his conscience and performed other spirituall exercises, he was taken many times making dispatches, and entertaining secret audiences. Do not trust a feigned humility, not the evill deportment of that director of consciences, who alwaies seems prepared to die; for within he is cloathed with purple; he hath the ambition of four *Kings*; he hath designs for another age. But above all, defie those workers of iniquity, powerfull in malice, who lift up polluted hands to Heaven, and are not afraid to approach our our most sacred mysteries being yet bloody with their parricides.

They are cruell, Incestuous, Sacrilegious, and yet cease not to be devout: Their devotion corrects their gestures, reformes their haire, but doth not at all touch their passions, nor meddle with thir vices. They make it all their vertue to praise *Catholikes* and speak evill of *Hugenotes*: Oh what great exploits would they do in a massacre, and how valiant would they be against men asleep, and invited to a marriage.

Their zeale, which according to the meaning of the Holy Ghost, ought to devoure themselves, devoureth their Neighbour, and burneth Towns and Provinces; They gain nothing by frequenting holy things, but the contempt which grows from familiaritie, & the custome to violate them. They became more bold to commit wickednesse, and not at all more honest, they lose the scruple, and leave not the sin; so that we may believe they come not so much to Church to ask pardon for their faults, as leave to commit more, and to sin with authoritie.

And as some of the *Primitive Christians* made nothing of it to drink overmuch, sitting upon the Tombs of the *Martyrs*; they fancy also, that all wickednesse is permitted them, provided they retain some shew of Pietie,

The most part of great men have alwaies had this specious devotion; and though it be a usuall vizard, and known to every one, yet they cease not to make use of it, thereby to abuse the people.

Do we not know those that mingle God among their passions, who ingage him in their Interests, and employ him upon all occasions? If they usurpe a Kingdom, over which they have no right but that of conveniencie or force, they say it is to hinder the Enemies of the Church from seising upon it, and to prevent an evill, which possibly would never fall out.

If their Avarice makes them crosse the Seas, and run to the worlds end, they publish, it is for the good of souls, and the desire they have to save Infidels, that drawes them thither; and yet it is very true, that the charitie of these good Christians, carries them only to those Countries where the Sun warms the earth into gold; and is not at all employed towards the furthest part of the North, where are soules enough to be converted, but where they

can only get frost and Snow. They are sollicitous only for the salvation of the people of *Peru* and *Mexica*, and being arrived thither, they speak so little to them of our faith, and sell a confus'd and imperfect picture at so dear a rate, that it is easie to see, the pretence which they make is not the cause of their voyage; At their first landing, they lade their vessels with all sort of riches which the Countrey affords, and spend whole ages to seek more which are hid in Mines, insomuch, that there scarce comes one *Pistole* into *Europe*, which doth not cost the life of an Indian, and is not the sinne of a *Catholique*. In the mean time, they suffer antient Divinitie to cry in the Schooles and Pulpits, where she is listened to only by women and children. She saith sufficiently, that the least evill is forbidden, though it produce never so great a good. That if the world cannot be preserved without a sin, let it perish: That it is not for us to trouble the course of *Providence*, and to interesse our selves in things above: That God hath put in our hands his Commandements, and not the guidance of the Universe; and bids us do our Duty, and let God alone with his own work.

There is sprung up since, another Divinity more sweet and pleasant, which can better fit it self to the humour of great ones, which accommodates all these *Maximes* to their Intentions, and is not rude and uncivill as that former.

The Court hath brought forth some Doctors, who have found out the means, to make vice agree with vertue, and to unite extreame so farre opposite. They allow expediences for those who have taken other folks goods, for a power to keep them with a safe conscience. They teach *Princes* to enterprise upon the life of other *Princes*, after they have declared them Hereticks in their Closet. They teach them to shorten warrs, which they apprehend long and chargeable, by Assassinations, where they hazard only the person of a Traytor, and to discharge themselves of their children without any legall proceeding, provided it be with the consent of their Confessour.

Besides, as if our Lord were mercenarie, and would be corrupted with gifts: as if he were the *Pagans Jupiter*, whom they call to share in their spoiles and Booties; after a number of infinite crimes whereof they are guiltie, they require of them neither tears, restitution, nor pennance; It is enough that they bestow some small almes upon the Church. They compound

with them for that which they have taken from a thousand persons, for a small part which they give to others to whom they owe nothing: And they are made believe, that the Foundation of a Convent, or the gilding of a Chappel, dispenseth with them for all obligations of Christianitie, and all vertues of Moralitie.

CHAP. IX.

WE have a Prince who doth not make use of these Guides for the direction of his conscience, and who derives from a better fountain the *Maximes* by which he governs. He would not behold with so evill eyes those men that should come purposely to poison him, as such Doctors, who would corrupt him with their breath; and he would with more patience suffer in his Court *Jewes* and *Magicians*, that is to say, declared Enemies to the truth, then those servants, who weare the Livery of Iesus Christ, and are at his wages for no other end but to betray him. But what need is there of a pleasing Divinitie, when it doth nothing but what the severest injoyns him to? To what use are the sellers of paint and plaisters, since he hath no spot to cover, nor deformity to disguise? Or what pleasure can he take in the wrangling of three or foure *Sophisters* among the applaudings of the people, and the praises of renown?

Knowing that our Religion commands us to abstain from all appearance of evill, and to do that which is good, not only before God, but also before men; he contents not himself with a secret pietie, and bare worship of the spirit, but believeth, that he is bound to give something to the eyes of the world, and hath a care by his example to edifie his people.

The least Ceremonies which respect divine worship, he esteems highly of: he mingles his voice, sometimes, with the publick prayers, and is mindfull of the Speech of a King, like himself: *I am weary of crying, I am hoarse, mine eyes faile for crying, and looking after my God.*

Yet this devotion hath alwayes more substance then shew, and is like those Trees whose roots are longer then their branches: It is not bodily, nor tyed to sensible objects: It hath its seat in the understanding which is perfectly enlightned, which hath no mean belief concerning the things of heaven; nor hath any, but most found and reasonable opinions of this first

and excellent cause, of which most men make such rash and precipitated judgments.

But because this quality would be, as it were, dead, and of no use, if it came not from the highest region of the soule, where the discourse and the understanding are formed, and seeing it must equally reside in the second part, where the affections and the desires receive their birth; he maketh it descend from the head to the heart, that that which was light, may become fire, and that so high and elevated a knowledge, which ought to be fertile in great operations, and issueth forth by admirable effects, may not be terminated in it self, nor rest in the idle desires of a bare speculation.

Let us not therefore consider it only at the Altar, and in the Oratory, where without any danger it treateth with God, and exerciseth a peaceable intercourse, which no body can disturb: for it is found in the occasions of warr as well as there. It appears in the head of our Troops, it goes into the Trenches; and exposeth to all the injuries of the time, to all the ambushments of fortune, the most precious life which is this day in the world. It is not employed only to the structure and garnishing of some stones, but it fasteneth the Altars, and assures the foundations of the Church: It provideth *English* cloth, which he fills with store of Converts, who, to become good, had need to have the power of doing ill taken from them.

These are the effects of his devotion, which is active, and taketh pains without rest, and thereby prevails with the *Lord of Hosts*, for victories full of wonders, as well upon the earth, as upon the Sea. And it is so, as I conceive, that God will be praid unto in the time of warr. Who refuseth nothing in these occasions to earnest and stirring men, and heareth much more willingly, the courageous then the lazie; and those who set themselves forward for his graces, and are prepared to receive them, then those who expect them at their lodging, without putting themselves in any condition to deserve them.

That Regiment of Christians, who in the time of *Marcus Aurelius*, and under his Banners, caused thunder to fall from heaven upon their enemies from, whence they merited the name of the *Thundering Legion*, did not

obtaine so marvellous a successe with their arms a Crosse, but in the pursuit of a fierce and bold assault, and fighting on all sides.

And when the winds and the hayle armed themselves at the prayer of the Emperour *Theodosius*, against the Tyrant *Eugenes*, it was a prayer which he made on horseback, after he had perform'd the duty of a good Captain, and render'd himself worthy so great a miracle: For otherwise to desire of God to favour the unworthy, and that he should bestow upon the cowardly and fearfull, the recompence which is due to labour and valour, would be to make use of him indiscreetly, and to sollicite him to injustice.

It is necessary therefore, that a *Prince* be devout in this first kind, and as the *King* was at the fight of *Ree*, in the defeat of the English. He could not produce a more eminent act of Pietie; and if it be inferiour to that of *Martyrs*, which I can hardly confesse, it is only in one degree, because in the humility of Christianity, suffering is more esteemed, then doing.

But be it as it will, this victorious Devotion is such, that it hath gained our *Kings* the name of *Most Christian*, which was unknown before them, and which must be express'd against the use of all languages, for an honour to their victories and their zeale.

The same Devotion hath received these Testimonies from the mouth of the supream Bishops; That God made use of the *Kings of France*, as of his Principall forces, and as an invincible Bulwark to defend the *Christian Republick*: That their Kingdome was his Quiver, from whence he drew all his arrows with which he shoots against Tyrants. The same at this day deserves the same Elogies, & carries the King to such high enterprises, that they cannot be drawn into example; And besides, the valour which is born with him, and which he hath gained by reason, a third kind of courage doth inspire him, which is a species of Divine fury, with which the *Orthodox Princes* have heretofore bin agitated, when their bare presence hath put Armies to flight, and the Enemies have discovered something extraordinary in their faces, which they durst not resist.

As it is not alwaies a meer exhalation lifted up from the earth which causeth strange and fearefull fires; which far exceed the materiall and

Elementary one: But they are often the effects of Spirits which enter into naturall causes: So sometimes into humane actions there descends a beame of Divinity, which enforceth and perfecteth them, extending their power and vertue almost to Infinitenesse, which drawes after it the astonishment and admiration of the people.

And if it be true that the innocence which our first Father lost, stamped upon him a character of Authority, which the wild beasts acknowledged, and which made him be revered of what was most cruell and terrible in nature; I wonder not that a man, who by his vertue seemeth to have recovered this originall and ancient righteousness, have an advantage over other men, and that for the most part he finds submission where wicked men meet with resistance. I wonder not, that having a mind void of all remorse and teares which accompany sinne, he is extreamly valiant; and feeling neither trouble nor disorder in himself, which makes a diversion of his thoughts, he fight with more liberty then sinners, who are wearied and hurried with an internall and secret warr, when they march against their enemies. A troubled conscience presumes cruel things: Malice is fearefull, and given to a man for condemnation; and therefore a *Prince*, who hath none but holy intentions, can have none but good hopes: Enterprises of the greatest danger are of no difficultie with him. He goeth with a firme belief, that what was not esteemed feasible by his *Predecessors*, is reserved for his *Pietie*, and he is never in pain for the uncertainty of the event, because he is not engaged upon the faith of an *Almanack*, and the propositions of an *Astrologer*, but he follows the *Inspirations* of the God of *Christians*, who in the same place where he is called *Wonderfull*, *The Mighty God*, *The Everlasting Father*, is also called, *The Counsellour*. He rests himself upon his word that cannot lye, and who hath promised those that serve him, to assist them visibly with his Angels. To go himself in person to be their sword and buckler, to hide them in his Tabernacle in the time of adversitie, and to preserve them in the secret place of his pavillion, to send his feare before them, and to affrighten all people against whom they shall come; to drive out Nations before them, and to divide the Land to them for an Inheritance. But let the worst come, when these temporall promises shall not be punctually performed, and that good successe shall not of necessity follow a good cause: When the *Just shall not flourish as the Palme-tree, nor be lifted up as the Cedar in Libanus*; it is impossible that a religious Prince should feare death, beyond which he seeth

so great rewards which attend him; and that he should be loath to leave a Kingdome inclosed between the *Alps* and the *Pyrencean* hills to go and take possession of another *Kingdome* which hath no bounds nor limits.

CHAP. X.

THE Piety of the *King* is eminently shewn in that generous contempt which he makes of the most terrible of all terrible things. But universally it appears in all kind of good works, which are the true and essentiall works of Christian Discipline; for it is most certain, that without them Faith is not recompenced with happinesse. The knowledge of heavenly things doth not merit Heaven; Prayer is but a meer noise; and Sacrifices no other then murders. And indeed, though in *Exodus* they are called, more then once, the meat and nourishment of the Lord; yet for the reason I have alleaged, it is written in other places: *The Sacrifices of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord*; He which offereth a Sacrifice of the substance of the poor, is as if he sacrificed a Son in the presence of his Father: God receiveth not wicked gifts, and the offerings of sin. He protesteth to Believers, That he knoweth not what to do with the multitude of their Oblations; That he is full; That he desires not the fat and the bloud of Beasts; That Incense is an abomination to him; That he cannot abide their *new-Moons*, nor their *Sabbaths*, nor their other *Feasts*: That his soule hateth their *new-Moons*, and their *Solemn Assemblies*; That they are a burthen to him, that he cannot away with them: That he will not hear them when they multiplie many prayers, because their hands are full of bloud, that when they stretch them out towards him, he will turne his face from them. Moreover as, in the Law, he did not receive for an offering neither the price of a dog, nor the hire of an harlot; so under the Gospel he desires that Alms be given of those things which are lawfully gotten. He will have the *Piety of Christians* active, their simplicity advised, their wisdom befitting; and admonisheth us in expresse terms, that we shall know his by their fruits, And that men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles. Think you, if grief could enter into Heaven, and if the blessed spirits who inhabit there, had carried their passions with them, it would not grieve them, that there is so much Ceremony spent in celebrating their Festivals, and so little care taken in imitating their vertues. And can you imagine that the *Holy of Holies* would have a better devotion from us, then that which brings us nearest to him by the exercise of honest things? Or that

he hath any more pleasant object, when he looks down upon earth, then to consider the progresse which the *King* makes in the design he hath to follow him? For to speak truly, it is not in counterfiteing Thunder, nor in carrying a Trident in one hand, and a Globe in the other; nor in commanding to be called *Eternals*, that *Princes* resemble him; But in governing the people wisely, in delivering the feeble from the oppression of the mighty, and in doing good to all the world. It is not the power of God which men must imitate, but his goodnesse and Justice, whereof we may represent some draughts and shadows; and which the *King* possesseth with so full and liberall a Communication, that it would be as hard to lead the Sun out of his course, and to disorder the motions of the heavens, as to turn him from honestie. Wherefore though he is oftentimes seen prostrated before his Confessor, and all his Majestie humbled at the feet of one of his Subjects; we are not to conceive that his habit of sining, renders that action more familiar. For speaking after the manner of men, and in the rigor of our justice, he seemeth scarce to have lost his innocence. He hath not therefore alwaies need of the power of the Priest, but he demands comfort sometimes from Divinity: Sometimes he easeth his spirit overwhelmed with businesse, with the entertainment of a man of God: Sometimes he receiveth Counsels which he hath already prevented by his actions: He washeth himself sometimes to be refreshed, not to be cleansed: He takes remedies to preserve his health, not to heal him: He seeks for perfection with so much fervor and violence, that when there is place to do better, he accounts good a sin. Hence it comes that he ordinarily practised hard and dangerous vertues; That he prevents those occasions which he might stay for, and when he might be at quiet, he prefers honest dangers, before unworthy security. And hence it is, that he useth not alwaies his naturall liberty, but is constrained to hide his proper sweetnesse under a borrowed severity; and with the heart of a Father he exerciseth the office of a Judge: That sometimes he hath taken the publick cause against his own feelings and particular affections, and hath passed by all kind of respects to obey Reason as the Sovereign.

At the beginning of the last warr, which may be called partly forraign, and partly Civill, in a time when men of service were not so common, but that their losse was remarkable, did he not suffer his Justice to ravish from him persons who were dear unto him, and whom he would have ransomed with all the Jewels of his Crown, but whom he would not save by one word

of weaknesse? In this occasion the Services of three Constables, the merit of the blood of *Montmorency*, the valour of the top of that house, alwayes so dear and so necessary for *France*, have gained nothing upon him, but grief, for not being able to contribute any thing to so powerfull considerations.

He resisted the tears of *Princesses*, the prayers of the Court, his own will; as in other encounters, where the sweetnesse of revenge might seem lawfull, or where he might glut himself with the blood and slaughter of a whole people, he parted, for the love of the publick, with his just resentments, and eased himself by the same motive wherewith he was straitned; making it appear thorowout, that he moves only by the line of Reason, and that the *King* is so separated from the man, and the spirit hath so subdued the matter, that the Interests of his State retain in him at this day, the place of the passions of his soule. Insomuch, that he cares not to extend his supream Authority further then needs must, since he confines himself within civill Justice: He matters not to do that which is forbidden, because he abstains from that which is permitted; He takes no care to indulge wicked desires, and to give up himself to pleasure, since he denyes many things to necessity and nature it self. In a word, he is not carefull to injoy those pleasures which are common to men with beasts, since he neglects those which are common to him with other men, and knows no contentments but those serious ones, which arise out of the satisfaction of a good conscience, and proceed from the glory of great actions, which are alwayes fresh and new, and which the Laws do not tolerate as Remedies of humane infirmity, but which wise men propose as the reward of Heroick vertue.

CHAP. XI.

I Know very well, that in this discourse, I esteem a vertue contemned of the world; and that the most part of those who professe galantry, will reproach me, that I praise men for the vertues of women; but I value not the opinions of so debauched an age as ours is.

To go right, I go against the stream of the torrent, and the present corruption. And since the Eternall Word speaks what truth is, and not what Custome is, I had rather speak truly, then according to the sense of many, and

to hold my self to reason, however abandoned, then to Custome, though never so much followed.

It is certain, that all bold actions are not performed in the warr; There is required resolution and courage to be chast, and fair things are commonly more to be feared then evill things. Grief assaults the strongest part of our soule, where it meets with despite and anger which defend it: but pleasure combates the naked'st and weakest passages, where it finds nothing but self-love, which presently surrenders; And therefore, as it is not so hard a matter to hold out within the wals, as to maintain a breach, so it is lesse to resist grief, then pleasure. And herein Religion agrees with Philosophie: and forasmuch, as in the judgment of the Son of God, to root up concupiscence, is no lesse then to pluck out an eye, or to cut off a hand: And that Saint Paul speaks ordinarily of crucifying it, and saith, that our Affections are our Members: There are in the Church that have believed Continency to be an unbloody Martyrdome, and a persecution truly invisible, but the longest, most obstinate, and most violent of all others.

I shall not be afraid therefore, to praise the *King* for his purity, because it makes up one part of his valour, and he owes it to the strength of his reason, not to the weaknesse of his appetites, and for that, the peace of his Conscience comes not from the impotency of his nature, but from the labour and conquest of his spirit; He is not ashamed that men know him to be *King* of himself, as well as of his people; That he is absolute within, as well as without, That he is above all kind of Enemies; That there is no combate, whether against strangers, against his own Subjects, or against his passions, but he remains Master.

Now it is without difficultie granted, that from these acts of valour, there grow such perfect joys that out of heaven he cannot receive the like; and that the victorious as the most satisfied of all people. Let men boast as much as they will, to fairest eyes that ever have enlightned the world, and the worth of those proud Creatures who leade *Princes* Captives after them: In all the Empire of pleasure, there is no injoyment so sweet, as that of a City taken, or of a Battle gained Leuctres and *Mantineia* have more delighted *Epaminondas*, then Laïs and *Phryne* all their Lovers.

And though he lost his life in the last of these two Journeys, nor could possesse his glory above half an houre, and that in the dolours of a mortall wound; He dyed notwithstanding more happily, then the Effeminate live; and would not have exchanged one moment of that time, for their long and unprofitable old age.

But if *Epicurus* himself had the courage to say, that vertue could not be miserable upon the wheele; That the remembrance of what was past, obliged him to confesse, that he found himself well there, and that the grief, which made his executioners rage, did only tickle him; shall we doubt that in a calme condition, and in a pure prosperity it doth not feel incomparable contentments, a thousand times more lively, more subtile, and more penetrating, then all the effects of the most artificiall delights, which the wit of man hath invented to flatter the body?

We embrace some objects in this world, which slide away and melt between our hands: which are continually threatned with an end, or with a change, which we are assured either suddenly to hate, or to contemne, or else to love no more. Their nature being to be corrupted, as soon as they are brought forth, the affection which we bear them, vanisheth with them; and because they are not infinite, they must needs perish by their own growth; their desires ending by injoyment, and their motion by wearinesse.

Therefore, let us admire our wise *Prince*, that knows how to place his passions upon those objects which he may alwayes love, and which alwayes will be lovely; which are not defiled with the filth of earthly things, which raise his desires to the highest and first beauty, estranging them from body and matter, as the dregs and impurity of the Creatures. Pleasure with all her inventions and allurements, cannot gain upon him one beginning of a will, nor please him at all in surprising him. He will sooner purifie the Court by his Example, then the Court corrupt him with its delights. In all his life there never proceeded one word out of his mouth, which might receive a dishonest meaning; nor was it possible to finish an immodest speech before him, for any man who should dare to begin it. The modesty of his Countenance, together with a pleasant mixture of sweetnesse and severity, which appear'd in his eyes, stifled evill thoughts in the very soules of men, and reform'd, at the first view, whatsoever approach'd him: so that in his presence, the most

debauched resemble the modestest, and his bare look had power either to change, or to suspend their Inclination.

So rare and difficult a vertue, is indeed the gift of heaven, and a priviledge of his birth, but it is also an effect of his full manner of living, and the fruit of his continuall employments. He gave vice neither means nor time to assault him; he never yet had leisure to do ill; and his evill Angel hath alwayes found him busie elsewhere, when he hath assay'd to carry him thither. If he could not alwaies be in Warr, or at Counsel, yet his sports and recreation were austere and toylsome, his delights martiall and virile. Pleasure cannot gain upon him by other charms, nor draw him to her but by labour. All his exercises serve for his principall profession; They have some relation or resemblance with Arms, and are either the Images, or the Meditations of Warr. The most part of *Princes* that we have known, and of whom we have heard speak, are not of this humor; they are not active with so much vigor as appeares in him at his relaxations, and the rest in which they languish is so shamefull, that it were more for their honour if it were a pure Lethargie. Some grow old at the Table and spend their dayes and nights in the pleasure of feasting: others imploy the third part of their life in curling their haire and consulting the glasse, and those that are most honestly imployed, bestow all their time and their wit, either in furnishing a Gallery with pictures, or in extracting the essence of Iesimin, or in drawing a fountain some four leagues to adorne a Garden, or to calculate their traffick, or to hear the propositions of an Alchymist. They are hid many times at the bottome of a Pallace, where their own happinesse disquiets them, where they complain of the misery of their condition, because there are no more new pleasures to be discovered: Or in the midst of their Treasures and delights, they become poor and lean by their desires, when within they are fatted as Victimes to be immolated: They are perfumed as bodies to be embalmed: They have Torches lighted to them at mid-day, that the Pomp of their life may be the beginning of the preparations to their Funerals, and when one passeth by their door, they may say with reason, *Here lyes such a Prince*. If at any time the noise of the victories of the *King*, awaken their lazie spirits; and if so lively a light pierce the thicknesse and obscurity of their prisons; perhaps they will come a little out of this profound slumber, and feel some light touch of glory: But the heart is not yet broken up, and these good motions produce onely faire wishes: Instead of imitating the vertue of so

brave a Prince, they envie his fortune. If sometimes they dare indure the day, and undergo the hazard of seeing the Sun, to which they are strange and unacquainted, never think that it is to take in hand some long journey, or in *Person* to assist their *Allies*, that they quit their darknesse and solitude; They go not out of their lodgings, but to make Love in the City, and to force that chastitie which resists, or to corrupt that which is inclinable to yeild. And at their departure from thence, when they have glutted their brutish passions; when they have violated the sanctity of *Marriage*, and dishonored poor *Families*, they call it sport, and seek good words to guild over villanous actions. Was there not one lately, who boasted he had triumphed over the fairest part of the world, speaking of the Ladies he had loved? And did not another say he deserved the title of Father of his *People*, he got the most Children he could of the Wives of his *Subjects*? In these lascivious and debauched Courts, the most sacred Dignities are oftentimes the recompence of a night, which the *Prince* hath spent pleasantly. Nothing is refused to the embracements of an artificiall woman, who can make use of her charmes, nothing is impossible to her kisses. The least of her dalliances are able to pardon the guiltie, and procure the condemnation of the Innocent; and that which could not passe in the Counsel, receives no difficulty in the Bed.

But God be thanked, we are secure from this misfortune, and our Court is pure from this defilement. The desire of true glory cannot subsist where there are smaller affections; and in the heart of the King this ardent passion consummates, to speak truth, all the others; being so active as he is without ceasing, how can he dream of pleasure? and being, as he is, extreemly laborious, how should he fall into the sinne of sluggards? Whatsoever recreations are presented to him, they never withdraw his mind from the affairs of his Kingdome; and though he may cast a look sometimes upon other objects, yet his sight is still fixed there. What ever he doth, and to whatsoever he applies himself, he never forgets to raigne; he never lets down his *Majestie* into low employments, and unbeseeming his condition. His whole Life, is, as it were, equally serious.

CHAP. XII.

YOU need not fear that he shuts himself up whole dayes to set together the severall peices of a Clock, or to play a game at Chess: He knows not how

to bury himself about vain employments, or to study for trivial things. He will not take paines to no purpose, but reserves all the Intentions of his mind, to seek meanes to come to that great end which he proposeth to himself. Games of hazard please him not much more, whether because it troubles him to be moved at things of so smal importance, or because he had rather give then lose, or win; or whether he would not have the least part of his life subject to fortune: For wrestling, running and fencing, which some nations so much esteem, he holds they may be the Pleasures of a *Prince*, but not his Actions; and is ashamed to gain reputation from a thing which the *Romans* would not let their Children learn, but taught it their slaves only; and so to receive praises common to the lowest of the people. He brings nothing therefore to such pastimes, but his eyes and his presence; and comes to them, rather to seem not to condemn them, or not to be of an ill humour at a publick time of rejoycing, then to take delight in them, or at all to be moved with such poor entertainments.

I doubt not, but he hath read with disdain, the History of *King Renes*, *Count of Provence*, who was found finishing the picture of a Partridge, by the man that brought him the news of the losse of his Kingdome of *Scicilie*: And I am confident, that if *Selim* Emperour of the *Turks*, in a Tablet which he made and published, had not painted a battle which he had gain'd, he would hardly have pardoned himself, for letting the world know he was a Painter. Not that he is averse to curiosities, or an Enemy to neatnesse and innocent inventions, which comfort and sweeten the vexations of this life; For contrarily, he beholds distinctly in the Arts, those beauties and graces which are hid to us. He discovers in the workmanship, that which is more subtile and spirituall; That which is separated from the rest, and retains nothing of the matter; that which easily escapes a sight not purged by an exact and subtile knowledge.

And indeed, it is not without reason, that we laugh at the rudenesse of those *Princes*, one of which, thought the neighing of his horse more pleasant then any Musick; Another prefer'd the smell of Garlick before the artificiall skill of *Perfumers*.

A Lord of Saxony walking in the Galleries of the Market at *Rome*, stood still at a Picture which he saw every man admiring, where was represented a

great withered man, full of age and diseases, who leaned upon a staffe: But as the Merchant, who thought to make a fortune by the sale of that rare piece, ask'd him how he lik'd his old man, he answered innocently, he did not at all like it, and that he would never have it, though a man would give it him for nothing.

And in the memory of our Fathers, when our *Pope Adrian*, the sixth, was shewn *Laocoon*, at the Garden of *Belveder*, and some other Reliques of the *Roman* magnificence, he commanded in anger that they should take away those *Pagan* Idols from before him, and was ready to have it made lime to build some ruinous places of the wals of the City. In these uncivill and injurious contempts of Antiquity, there is either a grosse and brutish ignorance, or a presumptuous and froward severity; and to be lesse then a *Scythian*, you cannot blame the *King*; for having the senses, which have the most commerce with the Spirit, naturally very pure, and to have gained the utmost perfection by Art and Discipline. You cannot blame him for seeing and hearing with knowledg, and for having the hands ready and ingenious, and to be able to draw a Combate upon a Cloath, or to paint a Siege which he shall come to make. He will only let the world know, that he understands many things, which he doth not busie himself in; That he can deeply judge of the profession of others, and perfectly discharge his own; and that he doth not hate the Muses and their honest exercises, but that warr and his affairs allow him no liberty, to bestow any time in them. It is certain, that the Principall Science of Kings ought to have for its object *Royalty*: Their *Philosophy* ought to be Practicall, and to quit the shade and Gardens, where they spend a pleasant and obscure life, to appear in the Lists and great Theater of the world, covered over with sweat and dust; Their study ought not to be imploy'd in seeking out unprofitable verities, which make those that find them out, neither better nor happier then they were; It must labour for the acquisition of active vertues, and such as are necessary for the world; such as work out the happinesse of the State, and not the bare contentments of the mind, making experience of those things which the Schools can only discourse of.

When I consider, that the Emperour *Numerian* commanded this Inscription to be set over his Statuas; *To Numerian the best Oratour of his Court*: And that that other Ridiculous *Prince* dispatch'd Posts in all places of

his Dominion, to give notice of the victory which he had gained in the *Olympick Games*; to wit, over bad Poets, and bad Musicians; I cannot sufficiently wonder at their low ambition, and so ill grounded a vanity. The *Kings* knowledge farr exceeds all that, and his Art is more noble, though he do not exercise it with so much pomp and ostentation: He understands that Science, under whose protection all others are safe, and every society of men maintains it self; The *Science*, I mean, of *Governing*: He will not dispute the glory of Language with his Subjects, and the Authors of his time; But he can contend for that of Valour and Justice, with his Ancestors, and all Antiquity.

The former *Lacedemonians* who were *Demy-Gods*, and not Men, were lesse knowing then he: They went not to *Athens* to learn words and subtleties, nor did desire to conferr with the *Egyptians*, to resolve their doubts, because they did believe, that the Laws of *Lycurgus* had forgotten nothing, and that any other adventitious knowledge was evill and unprofitable.

It would have bin a hard matter, to have observed distinctly in their discourse, the parts of Eloquence, and to separate the *Exordium* from the Narration, and the Confirmation from the Epilogue; They express'd themselves only, as it were, by *Monosyllables*, and if they could have bin understood without taking the pains to speak, they would have spared themselves those few words they then made use of.

For the *Romans*, who appeared so often in that work, and before and after whom, there was nothing but Essayes or imitations of their wisdom; It is very true, that they have done all those great things which we admire, without knowing how to make a *Dilemma*, or a *Syllogisme*: But as soon as this perfect vertue gave it self scope, and when with lesse care they had husbanded their naturall good inclinations, they became curious after forraign rarities; as soon as they began to study, they began to be corrupted, and *Greece* conquer'd her Masters by her Vices and Sciences.

It hath therefore bin alwayes a common opinion among them, that it was enough to tast only of Philosophie, but by no means to be glutted with it: That they might passe by the *Academy* and the *Lyceum*, provided they did not take up their rest there; and that according to the ages and conditions of men,

there might be intemperance in the search of the best things; wherefore when old Cato set himself at the end of his dayes to learn a strange language, they mock'd him as one that prepared himselfe to make speeches in another world, and was afraid that *Minos*, who was a *Grecian*, did not understand *Latine*: without doubt, Age had altered him, and his judgment had a sense of the infirmity of his yeares, seeing that a little before, he made open profession, that he hated the *Greek* tongue; that he accounted *Socrates* for a mover of sedition and a Babler; and was of opinion, that when all the world ran after the philosopher *Carneades*, that they should send him quickly to his School, to dispute with the *Grecian* Boyes, and leave the *Romans* to obey the Laws and Governours of their Countrey.

These Sage and vertuous Magistrates resisted as much as they could, this violent passion of the youth: They chased away many times, not only the *Mathematicians* and the *Philosophers*, but also the *Rhetoricians*; and behold one of their Inditements upon this Subject, wherein may yet be seen, the Greatnesse and Majestie of the expired Common-Wealth. *We are told, that certain men, who call themselves Rhetoricians, would introduce a new kind of discipline, and that the young men assemble themselves where they are diligent to hear them. Our Fathers have ordained that which they desired their children should learn. These novelties contrary to our Ordinances, and to our Customes, are not pleasing to us, nor do seem good.*

Certainly, there is no better means to soften the courages of men, then to busie their wits with still and sedentary exercises; and Cowardlinesse cannot enter into well ordered States, by a more subtile or dangerous cheat then that of Learning. They are these idle and lazy persons, who in part, have ruined Trade and Husbandry; who are the Causes of the weaknesse of our State, and the unmanlinesse of the age.

And if in a great Kingdome, we can now a daies raise but small Armies; If *France* sends not now as heretofore, a hundred thousand fighting men into the *Holy Land* it is not because she is lesse peoples then she was, nor that women are become barren, nor that more do then did in that time; but it is because the most part of those, who made up those formidable Armies embrace a Profession contrary to that of Arms, & that there is a great

company of people altogether unprofitable, who spend all their Anger in suits of Law, and make to use of their hands, but to write and make Books.

When a whole Nation is sick of Logick, or of Poetry; and when in a Countrey they deale more in Sphears and Astrolabes, then in other necessities, it is a most certain sign of its approaching ruine: whoever will undertake it, shall easily compass it, and shall have to do with men, who will not awake, but at extremity, out of their profound speculations; who in a City already taken, will understand neither the sound of Trumpets, nor the noyse of weapons, nor will perceive that there is any danger, till the fire hath seized upon their Study, and their Chamber be almost burnt.

CHAP. XIII.

IT is not my Intent for all this to make the world brutish, and to quench one of the greatest lights of humane life; Nor would I bring back that obscure night which covered the face of the earth, when the *Princes of Valois*, and those of *Medici*, were divinely sent to chase away *Barbarisme* from the Ages past. I know, that as Nature casts the seeds of goodnesse into our soul, so their maturity depends upon study and exercise; That as she oftentimes effects more then the half of things, so Art must finish them; and discipline direct and set in order unpolished and disorderly vertues.

This Discipline serves at least for a key more seasonably to open the mind; it makes it capable of affaires, without the expectation of a tedious successe, or length of experience, and spares a man that great expence of time, which would be necessary of it self to arrive to wisdom; And indeed, if common sense, and meer Reason, ought to be highly esteemed; I know not why any man should despise knowledg, which is like sense collected from many heads, and as it were the Common Reason of many *Sages*. But here also we must distinguish, and make a difference of Sciences. I intend not to blame good Literature; I only maintain that there is that is bad; which is nothing but the vain and idle amusements of the mind; The dreames and visions of men awake; Labors that aime at nothing, nor bring any strength or ornament to their Countrey. I laugh at those *Gnosticks*, who are only cunning in those things which never come into use, and are ignorant of nothing which is unprofitable: Who run day and night after the Quadrature of a *Circle*, and

the perpetuall motion, without being able to attain one or other. I approve not of those Doctors, who use their Learning no more then covetous men do their Riches; who are alwaies full, but never draw forth any thing; who spend their life in the search of some words, and the understanding of a Language; who mistake the *Meanes* for the *End*, and the *Way* for the *Town*. These men are very unfit for a civill life: So far are they from being good *Princes*, that they would not be so much as tolerable *Subjects*. These are Members to be cut off from a common Society; The superfluities of a Common-wealth; and to use the expression of an Ancient Greek, They are good for nothing but to people Deserts and Solitudes. We reject not Science absolutely, but we reject theirs. We condemn not those Orators who perswade Truth, and beget a Love of vertue in the hearts of men (and it may be they will one day believe that we have some interest to defend them) but we condemn those importunate ones, whose discourses are nothing but noises and sounds which bend the aire, and passe no further than the eare; and vent for Eloquence a facility to speak ill; who deliver fooleries wisely, and pronounce evill things with a good grace. We expell not from the State, the study of wisdom, but we especially admit into the Pallace two parts of it, whereof one regulates man as he is a Creature indued with reason; The other guides him as he is borne for Society: The one hath for its end vertue, and a mans own good, The other the happinesse and good of the Publick. To which *Kings*, me thinks, may add the reading of History, which is a more popular Philosophie, and more delightfull then that which is gathered from the drinesse of Precepts, amongst the thorns and briers of Disputation. By it all the vertue of the Ancients is ours, and they have lived, to speak truly, but onely to instruct us; nor did any good Actions, but to leave us good examples. It gives a *Prince* the industrie of his Predecessors, to joyn to his own; It presents him sincere counsels, which are not suspected of flattery, nor proceed from passion, in which there enters no particular Interest. It shews him the issues whereby wise men have delivered themselves out of the hardest passages, and the way which they made when they found none. He that is not acquainted with this, and of all times knows only the present, is surpris'd with the novelty of an Accident which he had not foreseen; he suffers himself to be shaken with the first blast of a contrary wind, and imagining that a misfortune must last alwayes, hath never the courage to hope well.

On the other side, he that seems to be of all Countreys, to have lived in all ages, to have bin present at all Counsels and all publick Assemblies, draws thence powerfull helps to resist adversitie; at least, he meets with nothing strange and new; he expects good fortune after bad, and judgeth better of one action by another. For in effect, it is not from the Aspect of Constellations; from the flight and chattering of birds, nor from the heart and entrails of slain beasts, that this judgment is formed, but ordinarily from things pass'd, we learn what is to come. And though the affairs of the world many times change their Course, taking another way then their ordinary Custome, and that this only is likely, as *Agathon* said, that many things happen contrary to appearance.

Yet to speak ordinarily, like enterprises produce like effects; and though the Actors be divers, 'tis the same *Theater* upon which they represent, and the same Parts which they play.

There is no doubt, but so profitable a knowledge is very worthy the Curiosity of great men, whereof they make use upon divers occasions. With this kind of learning, the King is alwayes pleased to entertain himself: He hath alwayes taken delight to hear the relation of pass'd actions; and not to seek for more particular proofs of what I say; the wonders we have received from him, are sufficient to make us see, that he takes not his Examples from among us, nor are they the men of our times whereof he is jealous.

Moreover, his private life is so free from blame, nay even from suspicion; his publick carriage so full of discretion and lawfull arts; all his actions so conformable to the Rules, which the *Masters of Manners*, and the *Doctors* of the State have left us, that if he had not learnt *Morality* and the *Politiques*, they would have bin naturall to him, and he had received a Soul from God fully instructed and intelligent.

For other barren studies, and of no use, which require a violent Intention, and a servile assiduitie, which have need of a mans whole leisure and of every minute of an houre, they may in my opinion be profitably neglected by a man of his Condition, and are scarce compatible with the offices of *Royalty*, which require the whole entire *Man*; and so, that in matter of Government, there is scarce day and night enough for the necessary

labour; and there will need some time to refresh himself, which will hardly be found out. There are more businesses then moments; The slowest Death surprises *Princes* alwayes, and leaves their works imperfect; Few of these *Artists* finish their businesse in this world.

The *King* therefore, that would come to the end of what he undertakes, doth not amuse himself with any thing else; He thinks of nothing but his Charge, and his Duty; and the order which hath bin established from the first constitution of things being not to be reformed; he prolongs by art, a life of it self very short: He spares all those houres, which are wont to be employed in evill and superfluous occasions, and gains that from his diligence, which he cannot obtain from the *Liberality* of *Nature*.

CHAP. XIV.

IT is now ten years that he watcheth continually, that he is, as it were, alwayes on horseback; that he runs whithersoever the publick necessity calls him.

And forasmuch as he knows very well, that *Kings* and *Kingdomes* cannot enjoy one and the same rest, he is content, that the troubles and dangers be for himself, the peace and security for *France*. His white hairs are come upon him from noble and glorious cares, which have produced the tranquility of the people.

It rains and snows all the winter upon the first head of the world; It the most violent heats of Summer, when we make use of all means, we can imagine, to procure shade and coolnesse, his *Countenance* is scorched with the Sun of *Languedoc*, and it is commonly in the open field, and ten dayes journey from the Louvire, that he suffers the injuries of the weather, and the inconveniencies of the season.

Some of his Predecessors had more adoe to move themselves, and to passe from their Chamber to their Closet, then he to go from one end of the Kingdome to the other. He makes his Galleries and his Walkes from *Paris* to *Guyenna*, or the *Dauphine*: and there is not any part of the State afflicted, be it never so remote, which having discovered its wounds and made him

acquainted with its distresse, doth not presently feel the comfort which his *Presence* brings where ever it shews it self.

For this end, *Nature* hath given him a Body which doth not at all oppresse his mind; & being extreemly active and vigorous, finds not much difficulty to follow the motions of his courage.

The continuall Agitation in which he hath been bred, will not suffer those heaps of humours to grow together, and that excesse of superfluous flesh, which idlenesse ingendereth, and which oftentimes is a burthen to the soule; besides that, he is not pestered with that long equipage of Debauchery, which the Voluptuous leade after them, not makes warr after the manner of the *Princes* of *Asia*: There are no Troops of women and *Eunuches*, and another Army of uselesse persons; that follow his.

He needs not an incredible number of Waggon to carrie Lutes, Viols, Looking-Glasses, and Perfumes, as *Mark-Anthony* was fain to have, when he marched with *Cleopatra*: The first pleasant object that he meets with in the way, doth not oblige him to stand still; nor doth he encamp at the side of pleasant Rivers, instead of passing over them, nor set up his Tents in delightfull Vallyes, when he is to passe the Mountains. He is free from those hinderances which effeminate Men either make or find, and which are the cause of a notable losse of time, which to a *Prince* ought to be the most precious thing in the world, and of which he may be covetous without loosing the Title of Liberall. If the *King* did not know how to use it with much Oeconomie, and were not an excellent Steward of so frail a good, and of so had a Guard, he had not, as he hath done, in lesse then six years, begun, pursued and ended a labour which in all appearance might have bin the exercise of his successors, and have continued to his Posteritie. He had not bin *Master* at home, and Judge amongst his Neighbours, nor had he quenched, as he hath, Rebellion; disarmed Error, upheld weaknesse, abased Tyranny. A *Prince* indifferently diligent, had bin yet but the halfe way of so painfull a journey, and under another *King* then ours, we should yet make prayers to arrive at that Haven, in which now we give thanks for our safety. Let us not speak slenderly of the prosperity of our affaires; Let us not contradict the publick voice; Let us not weaken Truth by malicious exceptions, and conditionall praises. Let us avow upon all occasions, the

obligation we have to the King, if we cannot acknowledg them. Never was there seen so great a disposition to happinesse, as the *Politicians* seek for; Never were future promises so faire: We no more feare the ruine of our State; we hope for Eternity. All the pieces of this proud *Lump*, which hath tottered so long, are now firm; all is inclosed with an admirable evennesse; not one stone jets out beyond its line and levell; Nothing offends the eies of the most curious: See here the first time that detraction shall be mute. There are no more faults to discover, there are scarce any more wishes to be accomplished. Certainly I suspect my eyes, and can hardly believe my self, when I consider the present, and remember what is past. This is not *France*, lately so torne, so sick, so ruinous; These are no longer *French-men*, such enemies to their Countrey, so backward in the service of their *Prince*, so decryde among forraign Nations. Under the same visages I behold other Men, and in the same Kingdome another State; The ancient shape remaines, but the inside is renewed. There is a Morall revolution, a change of the mind, a sweet and pleasant transition from bad to good.

The *King* hath put his Subjects in reputation, hath communicated his strength and vigor to the Republick, hath corrected the faults of the pass'd age, hath banished all softnesse, and rashnesse in the administration of affaires. He is the Wise, no lesse then the Just, and he neither deceives himself nor others; He is not infected with the present corruption, nor, as it were, with no humane infirmitie. He is able to stay a State from the point of falling; To repair ruines which length of time hath contracted; To reestablish things spoiled: He is able, if we may so say, to make Young the Universe; and if this perfect Government, whereof we have yet seen but the picture, do at last shoot forth and appear to the world it will owe its birth, without doubt, to his incomparable wisdom.

CHAP. XV.

There was a time when we were glad to flatter our selves, and corrupt the Faith of our Historie; hitherto we have ow'd our preservation to any thing, rather then to our selves; and if since the birth of the State, we except onely the life of two *Princes*, and some few years of some others; it may be said, that Fortune had the supream Government amongst us, and that in the conduct of our affaires, she left very little part, either to Sense or Reason.

Our Lightnesse, our Inconstancy; our Folly is turned to a Proverb. They say *France* was a Ship, whose Pilot was the Tempest. Our Fathers managed their Wars without Discipline, their negotiations without secrecy: Their fashion to act, was as much without rule, as if they had had a designe to loose in all Treaties; and their valour so hardy, as if they had fought blind-fold. Therefore they bequeathed us that which they had governed ill, and their estate came to us in this confusion and disorder. All *Maximes*, generally received for true, have been found false, in what concerns us: All the signes of a certain death have been in vain, when they have appeared upon us. All forraign wisdom hath been deceived in the judgement which it made concerning the continuance of our Monarchie.

After the imprisonment of *John* and *Francis*, which were to both the fruit of their own imprudence, there were all the appearances in the world, that the Kingdome would change its Master, and would be no longer but a Province of our enemies: Yet behold it still under the power of the lawfull Heire of those brave Prisoners. The Kings of *England*, who have raigned, and were crowned at *Paris* had lately but one Embassador here, and now have none at all. There remains nothing to them of all the conquests they have made, but a uselesse name, which we leave to them to adorne their Titles, and to comfort them for their losses. And after so many Battles gained, I know not what made them flie, and chased them out of a Countrey, where they believed themselves at home, and where there were not above three or four Towns that were *French*.

Spaine having had, as it were, the same advantages, sees its self deceiv'd by the same event. We open'd them all our Gates, we received their Garrisons into our Cities, their Ministers into our Counsel; The most part of our people, if they had been borne at *Madrid*, or at *Toledo*, could not have been better *Spaniards* then they were; and the whole Nation ran in Troops hoodwinckt to bondage: yet these dispositions to a change, and these advances of a Victory, were of no use to *Philip*, nor his *Infanta*; We have not been able to lose, that which we have given: We could not fall under a forraign power, though ruine were our own design. The chaines which we demanded were denied us, and our Countrey remained to us, after we had delivered it to our enemy.

In other places, there needs only a Civil Warr to break a State in pieces, and to abolish Monarchie; But what have we seen but Civil Warrs since the death of *Henry* the Second? Nay, have they not been so frequent, that for a long time we may count the yeares by the Treaties of Peace which have bin made? Our Kings signed the Arrests of their death, or at least of their Deposing, when they signed the League, and when of two Factions, that rent the Kingdome, they delivered their Arms and Authority to one, that so they might be unarm'd and naked against the enterprises of both: If they had bin governed by reason, they had never committed such a fault; And if there had bin any Prudence in those times, there had bin neither League nor *Hugonotes*. This last party, which was to be stifled in the cradle, when it was but half formed, and the weakest hands might have spoil'd it, increas'd so by the indulgency of the *Soveraign*, and took its first vigor from the contempt which Men had of its weaknesse; and at length ascended to so prodigious a greatnesse, that it hath often ballanced the Royall Forces, till it fell out, that its ruine was the *Master-piece* of *Lewis* the *Just*.

But before this Generous *Prince* was come into the world, to accomplish our safety, and to stop things at the very point where they ought to stand, how many times have these two potent Factions fail'd of their blow? How little was wanting, but that we had seen a Republick of *Languedoc*? And that it had not bin the States of *Guyenna*? That there had not bin made Dukes of *Burgundy* and Counts of *Provence*? And who could assure our Fathers, but Rebellion expected to make its last and utmost assaults against him, who was only able to destroy them?

We have alwayes bin the work men and the Engineers of our own misfortune: Our Enemies have built their Bulwarks, and raised their Forts under the shadow of our *Peace* and *Treaties*; They have grown great, and maintained themselves under our protection: They have grown warm, and bin nourished in our bosome: The weaknesse and Cowardlinesse of the *Masters*, hath bin the cause of the boldnesse and undertakings of the Servants. All the State resented the victories and the lazinesse of the *Cabinet*; From the contempt which the *Prince* made of his charge, spring that which others made of his Authority: He had bin obeyed, if he had known how to rule.

Amongst us, neither the punishment, nor the reward have scarce ever bin known. The Great ones have alwayes freely injured the small: The weak have alwayes bin the spoile and prey of the stronger; Men have alwayes trod upon those who have thrown themselves down: Good men have alwayes bin dispised, because none have taken pains to preserve them, nor had any fear to destroy them.

Aristophon brag'd at *Athens*, that he had bin accused seventy five times, and had so many times corrupted the Judges: Here wicked men have thriven most prosperously: They have not only injoy'd Impunity, They have had rewards bestowed upon them: They have bin sought after with great care, and handled with all kind of favour: They have alwaies got by the practice of wickednesse, and have profited by their faults; Those that deserved the severest punishment, have had the freest payment; and we have seen an old sinner, who shewed three houses which he had got by the money which the King had given him, for having bin in three Conspiracies against his service; so that neither he, nor his companions, had any need to repent of so good a Crime, nor confesse Rebellion to be a wicked enterprise, since they got such notable commodities thereby, and it was so liberally rewarded.

This was not to raigin; this was not to overcome; That which was done in those dayes, was not to triumph, it was to live only, and to passe on from one day to another. The state of affairs, was neither Warr nor Peace, nor a Truce; it was a rest of slumber, which was artificially procur'd to the people; and the sleep of Criminals and of besieged persons, is not more disturb'd, nor more unquiet, then this deceitfull tranquillitie. They knew not how to heale, they could only skin over the wound, and set a good face on the matter.

Those that governed, would make Rebellion familiar in caressing it; they cloy'd it with good turns and gratuities, but thereby they made it more potent, and not better; they augmented its strength, and did not diminish its malice; sometimes they deprived it of some men who were to be sold, and of some advantages which it made no use of; and knew not that it was to prune disorder, thus gently to touch its branches and its slips, and not to lay the Axe to its Trunck and root.

All high enterprises made them afraid; all great things appeared to them monstrous; whatever was not easie, they cal'd it impossible. Fear made the objects seem bigger, and multiplying every individuall almost to an infinity, when three *Male-contents* retir'd from Court with their Train, they apprehended an Army of Rebels in the field, which drew the City and the Commonalty after them, without finding any resistance: Whereupon, they put not themselves in a posture to chastise them, but used means to sooth them, and instead of going to visite them with Cannons and Souldiers, they sent them Lawyers with offers and Conditions, and promised them much more then they could hope for from their victorie.

Thus the goodnesse of the *Prince* was a certain Income and Revenue to wicked men; He squeezed his own Coffers to give pay to the Armies of his *Enemies*, and every day paid for something which he never got. At the least Rumor he descended from his *Throne*, to treat with his Subjects; of a Sovereign he made himself a private person, and of a Law-Giver, became an Advocate.

By this breach, the partition, which separated him from the people, was broken down, and the Power changed into an Equalitie: The Guiltie sate upon the Tribunall, and deliberated of their own fact with their Judge: They named the place of Conference, and it was accepted of: They chose to conferr with Persons in whom they most confided, and those were given them that they liked best of. There was not a word of Grace or Pardon; Those terms were too rude, and had injur'd their ears: But the offended *Master* declared solemnly, that all was done for the good of his Service, and acknowledg'd himself extreamly beholding to his unfaithfull servants, for the affronts he had received from them.

Lastly, the design of the *Cabinet* being but to separte the Allies, and to turn aside the present storm, they granted them more then they could ask; They were prodigall of the Publick faith. The Name of *King* was not at all mentioned to be provided for.

And thus he found himself the point of two extreams equally dangerous; for whether he would keep his word and ruine his affairs or recover his affairs in violating his word, he was alwayes reduce to a deplorable Election,

either to hazard his estate in being faithfull or to be injurious to his honour, remain *King*.

These disorders and such like would they not have destroy *France*? And have not many State bin ruin'd with lesse then this Therefore it hath given the lye to all Diviners; It hath confuted ali Polititians: It hath put exception to all the generall rules; And it would not be so great a wonder that a Body, whose Temperature was ill and the constitution out of order, was now come to an extream old age, by wounds, excesse and debaucheries; as to consider <?> hundred years, that this State hath continued against all humane appearances.

It is an old deboist Body, that hath done what it could to dye, and yet lives in spight of the Physitians. Fortune hath corrected all the defaults of our Government: Chance hath saved; us or to speak of our happinesse more Christianly, and to leave the termes of corrupt use, which savour yet of *Paganisme*; God hath taken a particular care of desolate forsaken *France*, and was willing to be her *Helper* in the Confusion of her affaires.

His *Providence* hath alwayes fought against the imprudence of men; Heaven hath wrought as many miracles, as they committed faults: yet we must not love danger, nor persevere in wickednesse, in hope of a miraculous succour. We must not say, that God is obliged by oath, to make all our falls prosperous, nor that he will blesse all our Follies, nor that he will trouble himself to give good successes to all our evill Counsels. At last, he permits effects to follow their Causes, and that That which hath a long time troubled the order of the world, and violated the universall Law, do enter into its ordinary course, whence it hath proceeded, and obey that common necessitie which he hath imposed upon the Actions of his Creatures.

But in the condition we are now in, the storm will take us in a good houre; we can let passe this extraordinary assistance, which we cannot alwayes promise our selves: we will no more tempt God by a rash confidence, nor sleep in danger, expecting supports from Heaven; and now, that there is no more attonement for our faults, we have nothing to fear, being assured not to fail any more. Yet it hath not bin inconvenient, that things did not arrive all at once to their highest pitch; It was necessary to come by many degrees to *Lewis the Just*: To this *Prince*, who possessing reason in a

transcendent degree, ought to raign by right of nature, according to the opinion of *Aristotle*, when he did not raign by *Divine Right*, according to the Principles of our Faith.

It was reasonable, we should more then once ask Heaven for so necessary a *Reformer*; who by a Direction full of force, hath turned the affairs from that evill course they had taken, and conquered that long custome we had of disorder; who hath carried the Regall Authoritie as high as it could go, without *Tyranny*; who hath both punished and rewarded with exquisite choise and discretion, that so he might avoid Cruelty, and not fall into weaknesse: Who hath brought Discipline to Warr, and secrecie to Counsell: Who hath reduc'd our faith and reputation to a good savour among other Nations, and hath made those that resisted our Forces, to render themselves to his Sincerity: who hath changed those petty-slights which we made use of to catch the meanest of the Subjects, into his great and courageous *Maximes*, which give Law to *King and Kingdomes*; who lastly (which my particular Interest renders more considerable to me then all the rest) came to finish upon the edge of the Ocean, a work, whose only fashion and attempt made us fear; and knew to take his measures so just, his Time so proper to the design he went about, that sooner or latter, it had not bin possible to have brought it to passe.

CHAP. XVI.

IN this, the clearnesse of his understanding hath chiefly appeared: To do extraordinary things, it is not enough to know how to employ opportunities well, but also to know how to chuse them. Civill Prudence, as well as Judiciary Astrologie, is acquainted with good and bad houres, according to which it either rests, or labours. All Actions of men have their seasons; even the most vertuous may be done unseasonably. And forasmuch as that which is but an Accident to naturall, is Essentiall to Morall things, there needs nothing but a light Circumstance of time, or place, to spoyle a businesse which in it selfe was most profitable and reasonable. Sometimes to the accomplishing of our designe, there needs nothing but that the wickednesse of our Enemies be at the full; That the bad influence which bare rule, beginning to be weakned, There is no more resistance in respect of heaven, and that the moment be come in which it pleaseth God to suffer Men to be

made. And as Travellers who rise at Moon-light, supposing that it is day, are constrained to lye down againe, or venture the danger of missing their way if they goe on in their journey: In like manner those that follow the meer light of appearances, and who undertake things out of season, are in danger either to gain nothing, or else to be lost in their Enterprises.

Now if ever man knew to take the precise point of time, which is as hard to be met with as that just degree of heat which *Chymists* seek for in the operation of their Secret, If every man were able to discern the houre of execution, and to make his Benefit of the Opportunity, it must be confessed it is *This Prince* of whom I speak.

Assoon as ever this opportunity, which is so necessary in policy, begins to appear, and he perceives that his affairs are ripe, he will not suffer the fruit to be spoil'd; He makes the least moments available *His Presence* gives heat to the businesse; he animates the workmen by his very look, his voyce and encouragements.

You see with what Courage and Magnanimitie he performes businesses, with what bravery he beares himself in danger: with what Confidence he considers Death, and prepares himself for all events; with what severitie of Countenance he rejects fearfull Counsell, trembling and distrustfull wisdom. It is certain, that in the conduct of Affaires, Courage is no lesse necessary to judgment to put it on, then judgment is necessary to Spirit to hold it in. And as the Mind, all alone, commits many faults, and will unadvisedly remove heaven and earth; so judgment, all alone, is voyd of Action, and is the most idle and barren part of a man. It hinders him from falling, but it is by counselling him to sit still, and not goe at all: It makes a man avoyd ill weather, but it is by causing him to keep his chamber: It spends dayes and nights in meditating; and from these reasonings proceed nothing but doubts and suspicions, and a miserable unresolvednesse, which is the Cause that he never undertakes any thing, because he will enter upon nothing that is hazardous. Therefore it is, that Chance meets us every where, and there is no businesse so certain, over which Fortune hath not some right, and which is not subject at least to an Inconvenience.

He that alwaies observes the winds and the Clouds shall not sow, nor reape. The idle fellow because he will not go, sayth a Lyon is in the way, and a Lyonesse not far off.

The *King* contrarily, when he hath laid his design, troubles his mind no more with an impotunate reasoning, nor enters into considerations which have no end: He leaves off to deliberate, when it is time to be doing; He doth not overthrow his first opinions by seconds, nor those by other new one. He is not troubled to combate himself, when he is to go against his enemy: When he hath undertaken a journey, nothing is got by opposing him. He is as firme in his ordinary resolution, as men are in their ancient Habits: Obstacles which present themselves do not stop him, provided that humane force can vanquish them: Even those that come from a higher cause, from absolute necessity, have much ado to give him check; and if he be constrained sometimes to yield to the violence of grief, and that he be acquainted with the infirmitie of our condition, herein he is more tormented with his courage, then with his pain. In the extreamity of a burning Feaver, he complains only of the daies and occasions which he loseth; he is troubled at nothing, but the going back of his affaires. He will part with all his good intervals to it, instead of tarrying for the effect of remedies, and the recovery of his health: he employes the stops of his disease to be convey'd to his Army; he leaves himself to be cured in the Warr; and with a Body, which hath but half its strength, he laieth the foundation of the hardest enterprise of this our Age. Knowing very well, that the same advantages seldome offer themselves twice to the same person; he puts not off affaires till to morrow, nor loses good successe by delay: He never saies ther's enough for this time, and we shall finish the rest at leisure. This is Gods proceeding, who is thus patient, because he is Eternall, and lets wicked men alone sometimes, because he hath another world wherein to punish them. But we must not propose an example to men, which they cannot follow; They do not make occasions, but receive them: They do not command the times; they possesse but a small part of them, only the present, which is a point almost imperceptible, oppos'd to that vast extent of Eternity, which hath no bounds. To arrive at their butt, they must go apase and beginn betimes. They must make hast thorow suddain and transitory things.

And that wise *Prince*, who besides the knowledg which he might draw from his own experience and reason; was enlightned of God, said, speaking of himself, that he slew the wicked betimes in the morning; because, as I conceive, he was not assur'd of the after-noon, and knew not if his good fortune would last so long.

CHAP. XVII.

THESE *Maximes* are necessary in the height of a Tempest, and in the greatest extremitities, but they may be made use of when we perceive any sign of change, and the least presage of a storme. Neither doth the *King* throw himself absolutely upon these kinds of encounters; though during the calme and in a full peace, he have some more mild and humane dispositions. Sometimes he speedily opposeth force against prepared violence, and hath made light skirmishes to avoid greater combates. Perhaps he hath made *France* lesse by two or three heads, whereof the publique rest had need, for its establishment; and his Clemency hath not allwaies overcome his justice. We remember what past upon the *Louwer Bridge*, at that fatall season, when he had scarce any body for himself, but himself, he was constrained to call home to himself the power to condemne which Princes have committed to others, and to resume that troublesome part of Regall Authoritie, which they discharg'd upon the *Parliament*. An unfortunate Stranger had so confounded things, and mingled his owne Interests with those of the State, that none but the *King* could separate them, and cleare the world of the truth of his service: He resolved therefore to declare himself, and to purge the Court of that shamefull dominion which was established upon the ruines of *Majestie*, and which he seemed to approve by his patience. He conceived, that day, the design for the safety of his State, and by the death of two Serpents, made us hope the ruine of that Hydra which we begin to see at his last gasp. If he that was nam'd the mildest and meekest man upon the earth, Divine *Moses*, being yet a private man, and having then no Authority, but only seeing the affliction of his Brethren, believed he was obliged to succour them, and to begin the deliverance of his people, by the slaughter of an *Egyptian*, who smote an *Israelite*: With how much more reason might the *King*, to whom God hath given the sword, and who only hath right of life and death, make use of that right to punish a Tyrant, who opprest his true and lawfull Subjects; who thirsted after the bloud of his Princes; who held his Court in

Captivity, and in hope devoured his whole Kingdome? Yet Posterity shall see very few of these examples in his Story. He used no supream Authority, but against those who would usurp; it nor let fall any thunder-bolts, but upon those that would snatch them out of his hands. He hath not consented to the punishment of Criminalls, but when there was no other way left to put an end to their faults. He kills not, nor takes pleasure to see persons put to death, not even the Common-wealths Enemies; but he tries what he can to make them good Citizens, and good Subjects: At least he provides that wicked men be not dangerous to the publick, and without depriving them of life, deprives them of power and venome. His power is now such, that if three Mutinies joyn together against the State, he hath foure meanes to scatter them; but his prudence is such on the other side, that they seldome come thus far, nor have scarce leisure to become altogether guilty: He surpriseth them between the thought, and the execution of a fault. They believe their contrivance very secret, yet he knowes as much of their news, as if he had bin president at their Counsel, They deliberate how to cast themselves into danger, and he hath already provided for their safety; They would lift their hand to strike their blow, and they find it seiz'd upon; They imagin presently they shall share the Kingdome, and they find themselves fast in a Chamber of the *Bastile*. The *King*, who hardly proceeds to violent remedies, makes use sometimes of gentle preservatives: He hath found that excellent Temper between punishment and impunity; He hath taken the mean between Rigor and Indulgency; And to say truth, me thinks it is very reasonable to go before certain faults, which cannot be punished after they are committed, and not to tarry to correct a mischief, when the guilty are become Masters of their Judges.

It is true, that commonly out of a foolish pitty, single men are favoured, who enterprise against their Princes, because, in all causes, the more powerfull are accounted the most outrageous; and it is usually presum'd, that injury proceeds rather from force, then weaknesse. People will not believe that men have conspired against *Kings*, till they see the Conspiracy brought to execution, and the Conspirators dead: Yet I do not counsel them to suffer themselves to be kil'd, to justifie their distrust; nor to fall into snares that are lai'd for them, to shew they doe not fear amisse: They may prevent danger, by the death of those they do suspect; it is an excusable severity: But it is a

goodnesse which cannot be sufficiently praised, and which is only proper for the *King*, to do the same thing, and not to make a person die.

Upon a bare suspicion, a light surmise, upon a dream which the Prince hath made, why shall it not be permitted him to secure himself of his factious Subjects, and to comfort his mind, in giving them rest for their trouble? Why shall not a faithfull servant suffer with joy his detention, who giving place to a thing in contestation, shall make his innocency more clearly appear, and convince the Calummie of his Enemies, and pacifie the disquiets of his *Master*?

It is not much better to hinder Innocents from falling, then to be brought to this sad necessity of condemning the guilty? To do thus, is it not to exercise acts of *Mercy*? Is it not, for the most part, to preserve those that would destroy themselves? If this easie means had bin alwayes used, to divert misfortunes which threaten the State, the liberty of one particular had not oftentimes bin the ruine of a whole Kingdome; If the Authors of our disorders had been opportunely seised upon, besides that so the first had bin saved, they had spared a great number of others lives, and all the blood which hath bin shed during these Civill warrs: If the ill-winds had bin shut up, the Sea had not raged; If Kings had prudence enough, they would have nothing to do but Justice.

I speak of that punctuall and scrupulous Justice, which will not remedy the Crimes which are ready to be committed, because they are not put into forme; which will stay till the Rebels have ruined the State, that so they may proceed against them lawfully; which to observe some termes of a Law, will suffer all Laws to perish: This extream right, is an extream injustice, and it would be a sin against reason, not to sin herein against formes: If the vertues did not help one another, they would be imperfect and defective: *Prudence* must ease Justice in many things, and that this, or that make speed; he that goes too slow will never arrive; she must hinder those mischiefs, whose punishment would be impossible, or dangerous.

Justice is exercised only upon the Actions of men, but *Prudence* hath a right over their thoughts, and secretest Intention; she extends her self very farr before what is to come; she respects the publick Interest; she provides

for the good of posteritie; and to this end, she is constrained here and there, to make use of means which the Laws have not ordained, but which necessity justifieth, and which would not be good if they were not carried to a good end.

The Publick profit is many times rais'd out of particular mens losses. The North wind purgeth the ayr, though it throw down trees, & ruine houses. We recover life by abstinence, by grief, by the losse of some one member, which we willingly part with to save the whole.

Though the *King* hath preserved the Dignity and reputation of the Crown, in those conjunctures of time, when others would have thought it enough, not to have lost the State, though in the exteamity of evill, he would not, if it had bin possible, make use of one Remedy which had bin unpleasing; Though, in a word, he be infinitely sensible of the misery and complaints of his people, yet he could not chuse but make them grow lean in healing them, nor draw out of his own veins and substance, wherewith to procure their health.

But short pains are willingly to be indured, when they produce long prosperities: We cannot with honour desire to be discharged of a burthen which we bear equally with our *Master*; and in an occasion where the *Prince* employs all his own, and spares not his own person; It is very just, that Subjects should do something for their part, and that there should be none lazie or idle in his State, while he takes pains and endangers himself. The *Romane Ladies* once threw all their Jewels into a great pit, which opened it self in the middle of the City, imagining to stop it by that means: and *Those of Carthage*, in an urgent necessity, cut off their hair, and gave it to the publick, to make cords for Engines of Warr; and if this be so, are not we very delicate to complain, and very unjust to murmur?

Must the *French* have more passion for their silver, then the *Romanes* and *Carthaginians* had for their ornaments and beauty? And shall we be afraid to become poor to save our Countrey, when women are content to be unhandsome for this end?

We have this comfort at least, that it is not the Ryot of our *Prince* that spends our sweat and labour, and that the entertainment of his pleasure costs no body any thing. The money which he draws from his Kingdome to rigg his Navie, and to maintain Armies, is not diverted to other uses, nor employ'd to celebrate *Masques* and present *Comedies*.

He doth not as the Governours of *Athens*, who according to the Calculation of an ancient Author, spent more to have *Medea*, *Antigone*, the *Phaenicians*, and the *Bacchantes* acted, then to make a warr against the *Persians*, and defend the Empire of *Greece*. For some late years, expenses have indeed bin exceeding great, but they have bin necessary; The people hath paid much, but it hath bin their own ransome, and we cannot buy the liberty of our Countrey at too dear a price, nor the quietnesse of our Posterity, to whom we bequeath no such sad imployment.

The *King* hath in a small time levied millions, but also in a small time he hath managed many warrs, he hath defeated many parties, he hath taken many Towns, he hath cleansed many Provinces.

CHAP. XVIII.

AND here I find my self, before I am aware, at the same place where I began; I am fallen into my first discourse I know not how. We must not once more admire the diligence of the *King*, who to the greatnesse of his Actions, hath added this grace, to do them speedily.

Herein certainly appears something more then humane; He uses the highest and most excellent waies of working; He seems to act in an instant, and that already he retains something of a glorified body, to which agility is no lesse proper then light: The quicknesse of his Actions troubles the sight and the imagination of the beholders that consider them: The Issue of one design is the passage to another; The change of labour serves him instead of repose; That which we think should be the end, is but a means to arrive thither.

Who would not believe, but he would refresh himself after a siege of fifteen moneths, and that his spirit might be satisfied with routing the *English*

Army, and with the taking of *Rochel*? Had he not wherewith to entertain himself long enough with the Memory of two such famous actions; to be nourished with fruits which were ready to be gathered, and to enjoy, at his ease, the reputation which he had gotten? Yet he had rather use the victory then enjoy it; and deprive himself of the reward for doing well, rather then lose one occasion of persevering.

Behold him then, who is but half dry of the sweat of warr, who is yet covered with the dust of *Aunix*; who hath not finished his complements to the Queens: See him, I say, who no sooner return'd from *Rochel*, but he goes from *Paris* to put *Italy* into Liberty: Behold him who presseth Fortune without giving her any rest, who will not suffer his prosperity to languish, but pursues the favours of heaven, and forceth those affairs by his courage, which he had formerly wearied by his patience. Without doubt, good successes do not end with the Action that gives them birth, they continue after they are brought to passe; and leaving in the heart of *Princes*, a spurr to incite them, pusheth them out of their Throne, assoon as they offer to sit down upon it.

The designs which have succeeded well, beget new thoughts in them to enterprise new things, and gives them the desire of a new reputation, as if the first were already wholly spent; And as the most part of Lovers look not upon their *Mistresses* when they are become their wives, so they contemn their antient glory, when it costs them no more pains to gain it.

This passion in the soule of the *King*, is nothing else but the Emulation of himself; a Jealousie of his own merit; An obstinacy alwayes to conquer himself; the hope of what is to come, continually combating the reputation already pass'd; and the envie of what he is about to undertake, that which he hath already undertaken.

He went down from the *Alpes* in the midst of winter, and by a memorable Battle, whose particulars I reserve for another place, making sure of a passage which they would dispute, and snatching the keys out of the hands of the *Porters*, he open'd the Prisons to a whole captive Nation, and made them that complain'd of Tyrants, know that their Deliverer was come.

At the noise of so great a news, the *Spaniards* withdrew their Troops from *Mountferrat*, abandoning the labour of many moneths, and losing the glory of that Constancy, which their Flatterers so often oppose to our lightness.

It is in vain that so many preparatives are made, and that they have travers'd so much ground. The expence of a long siege remains uselesse: They fear more for *Milan*, then they hope for *Cazal*; and as there is nothing so contagious, nor which runneth so fast, as fear, the troubled imagination presenting the last evils first, and the extreimity of things; They tremble already in the Castles of *Naples*; and the Garrison of *Palermo* finds not the narrow Sea large enough, which parteth *Scicilie* from *Italy*.

The *King*, in the mean time, is content to raise the dejected spirits, and to humble the proud; he will not be happy for himself, having fought only for his friends, nor make any profit from their warrs, his Armies being not mercenary. He lets his pretences sleep for a while, and the rights of his Crown, which he will not mingle with their affairs, that the assistance which he gives them, may be of pure gratuity; and that there may seem no neerer, or more particular Interest then that of their safety, nor that he will make use of a lesse enterprise to spare a greater.

The *Romans* did not assist their Allies with the like freedome, nor like him embrace honest things, for the bare respect of honesty: Particular private men were vertuous, but the Republick was unjust. The Profit which they contemned at home, was the end and scope of their Consultations in the *Senate*; and though they gave fair names to their enterprises, and coloured them with a seeming Generosity, yet they were full of Interests, and went, if not altogether straight on, yet some by-way to the advancement of their Empire.

In the cause of the people who called them, they had alwaies their design apart; Almost all their usurpations began by defending the good of another; and in succouring the weak against the stronger, they gain'd one part of the land, and conquer'd the other.

The *King* doth not traffique thus with his courtesies and benefits, and his valour is neither covetous nor ambitious; After the service of God, and the generall good of Christendome, which are his first objects, he only labours for glory and reputation: He seeks for no other Recompence for what he doth, but the lustre which redounds from his action, and the good savour it leaves behind; He was not invited to his neighbours, but by the only consideration of their need, and his own honour; nor carried his armes out of his Kingdome, but to make them know the difference of *Princes*, to their benefit; to receive with Authority the complaints of the afflicted; to preserve right to those that have it, and to do Justice to all the world.

This is certainly to be called a King, and to hold the place of God upon earth; this is to exercise a healthfull power to all people, and which suffers with all formes of Government; It is to embrace, with a common protection, that which is far off as well as that which is neer; It is to give, with an intent not to take: And just as the *Eagle* in the *Fable*, carryed *Ganymede* into heaven, without either scratching his skin, or tearing his garments; so he makes strangers perceive the happinesse of his Empire, without offending That of their Liberty, nor touching any thing that is dear unto them. The *Princes* that live thus, are to be esteemed much more then Conquerors, and those that aspire to *Monarchie*.

The Havens which receive into their bosome, Vessels weather-beaten, and torn with Tempests, are much richer ornaments to their Coasts, and fair pieces of the Universe, then those infamous Rocks, which the Mariners only look upon trembling, and which would want a name did they not cause shipwracks. There is much more pleasure in looking upon the Sun all crowned with the glory of his beams, which brings us joy with light; then to behold a Comet with bloudy locks, which threatens a thousand mischiefs: And if the other superiour Bodies had a will, and acted with reason, it would be certainly, for their favourable Aspects that Men would praise them, and not for their Malignant Influences.

The glory which is acquir'd in obliging the Publick, is the only glory which no man quarrels; because every one partakes of it: and the honor of one Man is the felicity of the whole world. Thus People touched with so lawfull a resentment, have heretofore placed their Benefactors in the number

of their Gods, and have adored that valour which was profitable to them. Those who had crusht a Serpent of an extraordinary greatnesse, or slain a Boare which made havock of all about the City, received religious duties of acknowledgment from their Citizens; and to be a *Heros*, it suffic'd to cleanse the Countrey of some *Monster*. Now I pray you, was there ever a more cruel and more formidable one, then the Tyranny which at this day would swallow up all the Christian Republick, and which is not satisfied, for this hundred and fifty years, or thereabouts, since she devoures States and Kingdomes?

CHAP. XIX.

WE do not accuse herein the Bloud of *Austria*, nor the particular Actions of any of its *Princes*: They are all extreamly well borne; They all bring into the world great seeds of vertue, which they husband with as great care, Goodnesse, Courage, Wisedome, are the true marks of this Race, and incomparably fairer then the figure of a Sword upon the right Arme, or the impression of a Lance upon the Thigh: There never were more Royall, or more Noble Soules. There cannot be found better, nor sweeter dispositions then theirs: and the Evil which I mean, is of their Fortune, and not of their Person. Besides, that I make profession to reverence in generall all higher powers, I know what respect is due to a house whereof the Emperour is but a younger Brother, and Spaine one branch. I am not ignorant of the Sanctity of our Alliances: I see very well from whence our good *Queene* is descended; But I believe she will not take that ill, which the necessity of my discourse exacts from me, and which I am constrained to speak of; the ambition of a People which now is nothing to her. she hath not so much passion for the *Kingdome* where she was borne, as for that where she commands; and if it be true according to the *Maximes* of the *Civilians*, that wives are the end of the families from whence they come, and the beginning of those whither they enter; The name which that wise and generous *Princesse* beares, though most August and Glorious, but yet which cannot passe from her to another, cannot be so dear to her as the hope of that faire posterity which she promiseth to this Crown. The Interests which she hath long since quited, cannot now divide her affections, nor trouble her mind; And that which she hath received from Spain, is not, I assure my self, of such consideration with her, as that which she would give to France. We seriously honor, and with a particular devotion, those persons which belong unto her: They are doubly sacred, both

by their Character and by their proximity. But truly the design of the Universall Monarchie, which was conceived under King Ferdinand, disclosed under the Emperour Charles, and which the Counsel of Spain hath alwaies nourished ever since that time; cannot be considered without horror and indignation, by any man that loves his Countrey.

I intend only to balme that Counsel, of which they are wont to say, Their *Princes* are *Mortall*, but their Counsel is *Eternall*: This Counsel which the *Kings* do find, and not make; which they receive from Fathers to Son, which they dare no more meddle with then the Foundations of their State, and which exerciseth in some sort a Sovereignty distinct from theirs; which they suffer out of a meer reverence to custome. I blame therefore this Counsel which followes such dangerous *Maximes*, and not those who have only right intentions. I accuse that Counsel which fights against the good nature of the *Prince*, which will command its own Master; and this is the *Monster* whereof I speak.

See, if you please, with what ardor he throws himself upon the prey; and how he forces himself to teare in pieces the Noblest parts of *Europe*. *Italie* bleeds in divers places with the scratches which it hath received thence: She is not free from his stroaks but in one little corner of firme earth; and all that is sound on that side is so heavy with old age, that it can hardly move to defend the residue of what is left.

There remaines nothing entire, nor cognoscible in *Germany*, but the Sea and the Mountaines, because he could not change the face of nature; It is not any more that Province, so free and so powerfull as heretofore: He hath made it groan under the irons and burdens wherewith he hath charg'd it; He hath broken all their priviledges; He hath violated all their immunities; He hath oppressed them by meer force; They are not any longer his Members which he torments, they are only his wounds. If he flatter some Common-wealth, among the many which he threatneth, and persecuteth; the good will which he shews them is an adulterate love; He courts it only to enjoy, and makes no offers nor promises, but only to deprive it of its honor, and the power to dispose of it self. His Confederacies are like those of *Nahash* the *Ammonite*, who answered the men of *Jabesh Gilead*, that desired to enter into Alliance

with him; Herein will I consent, if I may pluck out your right eyes, and set you as a reproach before all *Israel*.

If his Caresses do not alwaies kill, they weaken and corrupt; If he strangle not with embraces, yet he sullies and spoiles the body which he toucheth. The parts which he leaves no print on with his bitings, he infects with his breath; and though in appearance he seem to spare *Genois*, and those of *Luca*, they cannot say for all this, that he leaves them their Liberty pure and spotlesse, without any stamp of slavery

To these he gives; from those he borrows; that both may depend upon him: That Pensioners and Debtors may keep a Countrey for him, where he hath no Subjects; that he may reign by Family interests, being not able to do it by Colonies and Garrisons.

This golden Fleece so much esteemed, is a yoke which he imposeth upon *petty Princes*, that perceive not that he tames them by honouring them, and that such a society gives them a *Master*, and not a *Companion*; He will at last, either destroy all, or possesse all; and as well beyond the *Alps*, as beyond the *Rhine*, he oppresseth all Sovereigns either with his friendship, or his hatred.

There is nothing to be seen about him, but crushed Scepters, broken Crowns, overturned Tribunals, nothing but the torn Ensigns of Dominion and Jurisdiction, but the heads of dead *Kings*, and the spoiles of those that are yet alive; There is nothing heard about him, but the complaints and groans of the afflicted, but proud and outrageous Commands, but Bravadoes added to Cruelty, reproaches to the miserable, and the voice which ecchoes on all sides, *Woe and Dispaire to the vanquished*.

CHAP. XX.

THat he may take away from his Tyranny the distastfull name of *Novelty*, he revives ancient Oracles which he interprets to his own advantage. He alleadgeth for a right and Title of his ambition, That the *Lord* of all the world must come out of *Spain*; That it is more then 1500 years since this promise was made to it; In vertue whereof, he would get credit to it, by

Ferdinand Cortez, with *Motesume the King of Mexica*; That the Emperour was his naturall *Lord*, him whom he ought to expect and acknowledg as Soveraign *Monarch* of the Universe; his first-born and lawfull heir of his *Predecessors* in al the *Indies*.

At the perswasion of this *Monster*, the Emperour himself so wise and vertuous, ordinarily bragg'd amongst his Familiars, to make the *King of France* the poorest *Gentleman* of his *Kingdome*: He embroyl'd them again the very same day they were made friends. The modestest words that he uttered to *Charles* at that time, were, There is no other means to put an end to the publick calamities, but that *Francis*, besides what he is, be *Emperour* and *King of Spain* in my place, or I, besides what I am, *King of France* in his roome.

He engraved this proud Inscription upon the Frontis-piece of a Palace, which is to be seen in *Lumbardy*; *To Philip the second, King of Kings, Spanish, African, Indian, Belgick, the courteous Master of all Nations, chosen by God to re-unite all the separated Empires*. And after this shall we doubt of his Intentions? Methinks we cannot ask a more express and *authentick Declaration*; we need not put Interrogatories to Spies, nor decipher the letters which should give light to his design, since the stones speak, and it is imprinted in Marble.

He doth not make Warr for the honour of victory, or to recover that which is lost; It is only to get unjustly, and for the hope of booty; He ends not there, to give rest to oppressed *Provinces*; but to disarm his Enemies, and to deceive those whom he could not overcome. And indeed, as soon as he hath withdrawn his forces, and shut up his Magazins, he makes use of slights, and opens shops full of all wicked and cruell inventions, pernicious and bloody arts.

There within are kept words of a double meaning, captious promises, oathes which they will violate, false peaces, and Treacherous friendships; all the apples of disorder are gather'd there; There are craftsmen that labour day and night to lay hooks and snares; There are nets so subtile, that the cunning'st will be caught: From thence proceed those packets and letters which bewitch the people, which weaken courage, and pervert the fidelity of

the greatest Captains; From thence have bin unsheathed those knives which have committed parricides; the poyson which hath bin mingled amongst the diseases of the Sons of *France*; The gold which hath bin thrown into our Counsell, The nourishment which hath fed the league; the remedy which yet continues some small motion, and heaps together some remainders of life in the languishing and miserable Body of the *Hugonote Faction*. To hang six thousand men one afternoon against the Law of Armes, and to say, it is to chastise five or six seditious persons: To banish one whole people from their native Countrey; To choak another under the earth: To load a ship with chains for the *English* who should be saved from the sword, if the Armado that parted from *Lisbone*, in the year 1588, had succeeded as they conceived: To undertake to carry away, at a blow, the whole house of *England*, and to involve in a common ruine *Catholiques* and *Protestants*, is but a part of the Actions and of the Thoughts of this *Monster*; no more then what he hath done, and what he would have done.

But think not that he watcheth only for strangers, and that he deals any better with Domesticks: He is not milder at home then abroad, neither is he sociable to any. Is not the whole blood of *Arragon* ruin'd by divers means? Did he not sacrifice an only son to the suspicions and distrust of his Father? Hath he not very well acknowledged the services and fidelity of *Alexander Farneza, Duke of Parma*? Did he not believe he did recompence him, if he used him a little more favourable then he had done his Grandfather *Peter Lewis*, who was assassinated at *Placentia*? *Don John of Austria*, was he freely vertuous? Was it not a crime to that poor *Prince* to have done well, and to have bin able to do ill? Whereof was he judg'd guilty, but of his great reputation? Was it not believed he hindered him to grow old, because he feared the progresse of so fair a beginning, because he conceives he had qualities too worthy to command, that they should alwayes be employed to obey? He protesteth neverthesse; that he doth nothing but to advance the glory of God, and would have his Cruelties be accounted good, as if he had undertaken them by divine Inspiration, and for the generall good of the world.

To hear him speak, That if he did not keep Religion here below, she would fly away to heaven; That if he did not uphold the Church, it had fallen long before; and that *Jesus Christ* rains not, but by the help and assistance

he lends him. Yet it is certain, that if Religion were not profitable to him, it would be lesse then indifferent; and that he is the Persecuter of the Church, when she refuseth to be the *Minister* of his passions, and that he hath alwayes served *Jesus Christ* unfaithfully.

No man can be ignorant of the foul play and Treasons which he hath committed against him, besides the visible acts of hostility which he hath exercised in the seat of his Empire, even in the Sanctuarie.

Dare he deny, but he was the Cause of the Revolt of the *North*, and guilty of *Luthers* first faults? It was he that encouraged that petty *Monk*, who never had dared to shoulder the *Pope*, if he had believed he had kept good correspondence with the *Emperour*. It was he that received into his Armes the growing heresie, and favoured its beginnings, that so he might divide the spirituall strength of the *Holy Sea* from the Temporall one of *Germany*, and after he has weakened both, he might have let trouble to usurp over both. Henry the eight grew desperate by his means, and by the pursuites and Importunities of his Agents.

To content him, the Rigor of the Church went as swift as the passion of *Spain*: He employed the last remedies in the apprehension of a disease, and cut off that which was not yet corrupted: And to passe from thence, the time being changed, and his revenge satisfied, without caring for the *Interest* of the Church which had espoused his, not of the danger where he left her, and into which he had precipitated her; he made no difficultie to contract a most firme alliance with this King whom he came to render Schismatick, and who smoaked yet, if we may so say, with the Anathema which was thrown upon him.

But that which is beyond all beliefe, and which obligeth me to have compassion of poor men, who dare not believe evill to be evill for fear of passing rash judgment; Is, That at the same time that he ordained processions in *Spain* for the exaltation of the *Holy-Church*, He entered *Rome* with an Army of *Lutherans*; He took prisoner *Pope Clement*, and expos'd to the avarice and laughter of *Hereticks*, the pomp and magnificence of the Spouse of the Son of God, the presents of *Kings and Nations*, the Reliques of blessed Martyrs, the Bodies of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and generally, all things that

we reverence, and towards which the very Divels themselves have in some sort a respect or fear.

Before the world he covers himself with specious *Pretences*, and all his garments are powdred with the names of *Jesus*, and with painted Crosses; but this is only a person which he represents.

In the Assemblies he sounds high the salvation of Soules and the publick profit, but in private he mocks at it, and speaks in the eare of his Favourites, that he must reduce all to himself; that to rise, he may walk upon the Body of his own Father; That Truth of it self is not better then falshood, and that we ought to measure the value of the one and of the other, by the profit which comes from them; that a good Conscience is extreemly inconvenient for a man that hath great designs; That the advantages of Religion are for *Princes*, the scruples and doubts for their Subjects; That vertue may be sometimes dangerous, but its appearance alwayes necessary; That injustice indeed carrieth an odious name, but the unjust find themselves well; that contrarily honesty is content to be praised, and to profit those that have it not, being altogether unprofitable to him that possesseth it.

CHAP. XXI.

THEse and such like *Maximes* coming out of a mouth so impure, and this Prodigie being more ugly and formidable then I can possibly paint it forth; I must needs protest, that *Christendome* is infinitely obliged to the *King*, for his continuall care to protect it from his Ambushes, and to break as many enterprises as he can make to the prejudice of the Common libertie.

She hath wherewith to comfort her self for the death of the Late *King*, in the Person of so worthy a Successour, and wherewith to forget so many losses in the possession of so great a good; She hath that *Prince* which she eal'd upon in her griefe so many yeares agoe, and which she wanted when *Navarre* was usurp'd, when *Portugal* was ravished away, when *Kingdomes* were reduced into *Provinces*. He hath already wiped off the teares of the disconsolate Comon-wealth, and healed some of her wounds; but for the little ayd which he claimes from her self, that small and correspondence with the designe which he hath, he will speedily requite all the injuries which she

hath received: He hath put her in a condition not to fear: and if she be not wanting to her self, to hope all things.

It is not his fault that she recovers not her former beauty, having received from him her primitive forme; that he distinguisheth not her different parties, whereof will be made a confused and monstrous heap; and that he puts not in their right place the just bounds of his States, which have bin removed, during the disorders of *France*.

Though the disease be never so violent that assaults her, she shall never want a remedy; In what place soever the *Monster* appears, she is sure of a *Preserver*, and whatsoever power threatneth her, she hath another to defend her.

And for us who have seen so fair a light rise over our head, who have adored it from the first instant of its appearing, and who are neerlier concerned with this brave *Prince* then Strangers, having the honour to have the same Common Countrey with him: We ought certainly, to account it an exceeding glory, that a *Frenchman* is this day necessary for all *Europe*.

In that he is the desire and expectation of all people; that he makes new Destinies for wretched Innocents; That he undertakes with successe good causes abandoned; that he is praised of all that have any need of his word; that he is admired of wise men, as much as other Princes are of the vulgar.

If, when the *Greeks* or *Romans* made havock of the world, and whole Kingdomes bewail'd their victories, and were mourning for their Conquests; any one had bin found of this humour, who had stopt the impetuousnesse of their Ambition, and had strength and courage enough to revenge the offended Nations, what Sacrifices think you had bin offered to him? In what part of the earth had they not erected Altars to him? What place had he not obtain'd among the Demy-gods of every Countrey? And though our Religion allow not so liberall an acknowledgment; what prayers should we have given him, who should have chased *Alexander* into his own *Macedon*, or forced the *Romanes* to the brink of their own *Tyber*? When the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, the *Gepides*, the *Mains*, the *Huns*, the *Quades*, the *Herules*, & those other enemies of Mankind, quitted their miserable habitations, and overran divers

Countries of the world, to find more happie dwellings, and a more favourable aire, then that of their Birth: When with unusuall faces, an inarticulate language, with the skins of Wild-beasts, which covered them even to the eies; they carried on all sides death and slavery; and there was made almost an universall change of Laws, Customes, Government and Language.

If God had rais'd up such a *Prince* as ours; who had bin able to stop the course of these people of the *North*, and denied them entrance into *Gaule* and *Italie*; who had sent them back to inhabite their wilderness, and to endure the rigors of their eternall winter? If there had bin a *Lewis the Just*, to oppose the *Gensericks*, and the *Maricks*; to chastise *Attila* and *Totila*, and such Usurpers; whom one cannot name without hurting his mouth, and wounding French ears; the vertue of this generous Defender of liberty, would be at this day adored wherever there were any assembly of men, or any forme of Government; There would remain nothing of him which the Publick Piety had not consecrated, and put in the number of Sainted things: His triumph had lasted yet, and had bin continued by the Justice of Posterity, in the succession of all Ages. On the contrary, the hatred which is borne to Tyrants never hath an end; having accompanied them all their life, it followes them to their grave, and suffers them not to enjoy in safety that common *Asylum* of the miserable. Their happinesse which was only built upon blood, Deaths and ruines, is a dolefull and portentous object to all the generations of men: We wish them ill in the Histories; We are of all the conspiracies which they tell us have bin made against their persons; and reading the progresse of their good fortune, we make all the hast we can to come to their end, to behold them perish with pleasure: In brief, not any damned are more tormented then they; For the pains which they suffer in another life, are augmented by the curses they receive in this; and as long as their soul burns in the bottomlesse pit, their very Phantasme, which remains here, is not free from punishment; and we exercise our vengeance at least upon their reputation, and their memory.

Let them accuse Heaven as much as they will, to justifie themselves; Let them say, as long as they will, to authorize their power, that it comes from on High; That they are established by the hand of God, and assisted particularly by his grace: God indeed may make use of them, but he loves them not; If he sends them us, it is in his wrath and in the day of his fury: They are the evils

wherewith the prophets threaten us; the effects of his offended providence, the executioners of his justice. The sword of the Almighty is in the hands of his enemies, *Psal. 16*. It was told of *Esau*, (which Saint *Paul* gives us for a sign and example of the Reprobate) that he should live by his sword. *Woe upon Ashur*, cryeth the Lord by *Isaiah*: *He is the rod of my fury; He is my staff my indignation is in his hand. Woe unto those that go down into Egypt for aid; The Egyptian is a man and not God, and their horses are flesh and not spirit*. Where we may see by the way, that He not only detests Tyrants, but also the People that are confederate with them, and who adhere unto their Party; He not only condemnes violence, but also base cowardlinesse.

Anti-Christ, who is called the Man of Sin, and the Son of Perdition, shall be sent after the same manner as these unjust Conquerors. He shal slay, usurp, and invade, more then ever they have done. The Conquerors that are spoken of, are but petty Theeves and ordinary offenders in respect of him. He must be enriched with the spoile of the Universe, and gather the succession of all ages: If there be any new *Mines* to be discovered, they are reserved for him. The *Ocean* shall have no pearles, nor amber but for him; All Sovereigns shall be his Subjects, and of all States he shall make but one; It shall be that Beast which Saint John saw ascend out of the sea, who had seven heads and ten hornes, and upon his horns ten Diadems, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. The Dragon which drew with his taile the third part of the Starrs, and cast them down, shall resign his power to him, and constrain all creatures ot fall down before him. To him it shall be given to make warr against the Saints, and to overcome them: He shall have power over every Kindred, Language and Nation. But that Ambitious men who renounce all hope of *Paradice* for the smallest Interests, and sell their soul at too cheap a rate, may draw no advantage from this comparison, who will flatter their vanity, and boast of the miseries whereof they are the Cause; They must know, that the filthiest and most imperfect Creatures have heretofore driven people out of their Country, have made Desart, Islands extreamly fruitfull, and that Frogs, Bats and Locusts have bin employed; as well as they, to make desolate Empires and to persecute, one while the guilty, another while the innocent. Even dead things, and inanimate, want not strength, when there is no question but to destroy and ruine. Winds, Rains, Drouths are more formidable then *Spaniards*. There needeth but a weeks sicknesse to make of a great Kingdome a great Wildernesse. One evill Exhalation, which spreads it

self from East to West, is able to starve the World by a generall barennesse: And yet *Spinola* with all his skill, and all the forces of his Master, shall have much adoe to make a dearth in a besieged place.

In the year of *Grace*, 170. a man opening by chance a shrine of gold, which was in the Temple of *Apollo* in *Babylon*, there came out such a pestilent breath, that it choak'd him presently, infected the City and the Province, and over-ran such a vast circuit of the Countrey, that almost half Mankind died thereof, and the fairest portion of the Universe was unpeopled. So that the Warr of the *Marcomans* comming in this time, all the *Roman* Empire was not able to furnish men enough to make up the body of a full Army, and they were fain to list the Slaves and the *Gladiators*, and other *Criminals*, for want of lawfull Souldiers.

Under the Reign of the Emperor *Tyberius*, an Earthquake swallowed up 17 Towns of *Asia*, in lesse then 24 houres space, and other accidents have destroy'd other famous Cities, which are only now found in Ancient *Geographers*.

I have seen the tops of Steeples in the bottome of waters: I have seen Ships saile over the Cities of *Zeland*, and pittied the greatnesse of humane things, at the sight of this sad and miserable spectacle. And indeed, who is so enchanted with the Court, and so amazed with the noise and Tumult which the fortune of Kings maketh: who doth not contemne the weaknesse of the most mighty, and doth not laugh at the three yeares and a half which were employed to conquer a heap of Sand, and to take the place where *Ostend* was, if he will but take the pains to consider, that a hole well stop'd in a bank, may in one night drown'd all the Low-Countreys? To say truth, it is harder to profit then to hurt, to save men then to destroy them: to maintain the solid, the firme temper of bodies subject to perish, and which may come to an end at every moment, then to hasten their destruction for a few houres.

And if it be true as Divinity teacheth us, that the Eternall wisdome in preserving the world continueth in some sort to create; In like manner, the *King*, who hath resolved to underprop shaken States, to re-invest the lawfull *Lords*, and to maintain the ancient Laws, shall do no lesse then Law-givers

have done, who first assembled wandring men, who drew the modell of Communities, and laid the Foundations of Policie.

CHAP. XXII.

IF he saw nothing beyond this life, and if he had no Judge above, before whom he must one day appear; He might, as well as others, grow great with the miseries of Christendome; and with time it would not be impossible for him to come to the *Monarchie* of the world: He might make his best of occasions which smile upon him on which side soever he turns himself; to husband the seeds of Division sprung up among our neighbours, hear people that sollicite him, and receive those who would willingly render themselves: Necessary qualities to conquer, and to assure Conquests, are not wanting to him: he is in the strength of a fair and flourishing youth: he hath got an incredible reputation, he hath a boldness astonished at nothing; a patience which performeth all things, a Kingdome which can neither be poor, nor unpeopled.

I have not resolved here to praise *France*, that rich and pleasant part of the earth, which heaven favours with its sweetest and most amorous aspects, and upon which it sheds the best Influences of the starrs: I will say nothing, in particular, of the reputation of the King: It is sufficiently known, by it his Kingdome hath no Frontiers; by it, he reignes in the minds of others Subjects; and that the esteem which strangers make of him, is the cause that they neglect their own *Princes*.

I will speak no more of his boldnesse, which hath oftentimes oblig'd him to assault his Enemies, though they were more in number, and had the advantage of the place to fight in; that hath carried him to begin a great warr with his meer Regiment of Guards; which hath made him undertake a businesse which his Father had only discovered, and where his Predecessors having imployed all their might, shew'd nothing but their weaknesse.

If in the life of *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Pavia*, written by his Successor, in the same Dignity there be mention made, as it were, of a half miracle, that he durst pass the *Alpes* in the moneth of *March*, to go find at *Lyon*, the *King of the Bourgonians*, in behalf of the *King of the Goths*: and if the Author call

this, to contemne Death, to fight against the violence of the season, and not to fear the injuries of the incensed heaven: What is it that the *King* goes presently to do with an Army? Hath he not conquered in *February* in the precipices, and the Ice? Hath he not taken a Town that the winter, the Mountains, and men defended? For the labour which he built in the Sea, and in the midst of the toss'd waves, I intend not to touch here.

The modesty of an Orators style agrees not with an action so strange, so unheard of, so little credible: Poets have only tight to deale on this Subject, it belongs to their artificiall language, and as they call it, *Heroick*; it is worthy of their *Enthusiasme*, and of their pompous and figurative descriptions; It would be to enter into their profession, and to pass those bounds which do divide us, but to be willing to relate the Captivity of the *Ocean*, the restrain'd power of the waves, the removed place of the Elements, the Empire of winds, and of fortune which hath changed its *Master*, and no longer acknowledgeth any but *Lewis the Just*. Never did Truth more resemble a lye then this; and we doubt yet whether it were a dream, or an Inchantment, or a story.

So much there is that we may avow, that the *King* is bold, even to undertake things without example, which ravish with admiration those that behold them, and appear to others so hard and difficult, that they have much ado not to account them Fabulous; But we must avow by the same means, that his boldness never did any thing without his *Patience*, and that this which is not contrary to Readinesse, of which we will presently speak, hath recompenced his paines, crowned his work, set the affaires in their last perfection, and hath founded an Eternall peace upon an intire victory.

We might have seen else-where great beginnings, formidable preparations, many warrs proclaimed, store of Edicts of fire and blood: But these beginnings had bin but recal'd by other contrary ones, and these warres had bin ended by a lost expenses; these Preparations had done no more hurt, then the machiness of a Theater, then the picture of Dragons and Cerberusses, these Edicts had been dishonourable accommodation: The first success that had not answered our wish, had made us curse the whole business; At the least difficultie which had offered it self contrary to our expectation, we had fallen out with *Paris*, regretted the Court, and the

Tuilleries; A good and wholesome Counsell had bin blamed, not for having bin followed with a bad event, but for not having produced an effect soon enough: And if the Victory had not come just at the point that we would have had, we had left our affaires thus far advanced, and grown desperate at a thing half done. Patience then is absolutely necessary to execute high and important enterprises; to go on just right to the mark, without staying on one or other side of the way; to doe that which he hath resolved, to make a mock of running reports, to prefer durable glory and solid effects, before a short reputation, and the vanity of appearance; To be moved neither at the murmures of his own, nor the bravadoes of his enemy, to come to the end of his obstinate resolution, after he hath spent its strength to overcome. Lastly, that which both will, and knows how to defend it self. But what need we dissemble? This vertue which the King this day puts in use, is as new to us, as it was unknown to our Fathers; the publick voice reproacheth us with the contrary vice, and all Antiquity hath blamed us for it: For though sometimes they swore solemnly never to put off their belts till they had won the Capitol, and sometimes promised their God to consecrate to him the Armes of the *Romanes*, and to present him a Collar of Gold made of their bootie; Though yet living under Christian Laws, they obliged themselves to take Cities, and vow'd never to put off their Cloathes, nor to eat nor drink till they had gained them, which they called to swear and vow a Siege, yet most commonly they broke their vow, and violated their oath; and if at any time they gained the places which they besieg'd, it was rather by rashnesse then by reason, rather in losing men, then in managing the time; and more for that the Art of Fortification was unknown, then that they knew how to assault them.

For my own part, I cannot praise this casuall and disorderly valour; It is no hard matter to be couragious for a time, but alwayes to be, is hard; and an even temper hath bin so much esteemed amongst some *Sages*, that they have believed, that it was something more excellent to persevere in an Evill, then not to be assur'd in vertue.

There is a great company of men who would do good actions, if they should endure for but a day; there are few that are able to manage a long design; There are few so eager, whose motion passeth not away, or who have continuall furies; There are scarce any but had rather undertake many businesses, and change often, then to fix to one object, and continue in the

same labour. The most part of the Northern people do thus, and have only some raptures and suddain motions; They use no discourse, nor make use of reason to a warr, but collecting all their vigour together, and casting out all their choller; at first, they make an extream fierce onset; after which, finding more resistance then they expected, and the property of violence being to indure but a while, if reason and argument be not there to maintain it, as they were more then men at the beginning, so they become lesse then women in the pursuit of their action and as if they went out of a fitt of a fever, after they have bin stirr'd, they languish in a lethargie; they flie ordinarily, if they put not to flight, and yield themselves, if they do not take: At least they will hazard their fortune and their hopes all at once, and aske a generall assault, or one set battell, that they may have nothing to do to morrow: They never dreame of overcoming, but of ending the warre, and to go out of their present inconveniences even by thier defeat, nay by their death: That brave *Gaule* knew it very well in the Commentaries of his Enemy, where answering the objections of his Accusers; he protested he would not leave the charge of his Army with any body, for fear lest he, to whom he left it, press'd with the importunity of the multitude, might be constrain'd to fight; to which he saw all were inclin'd, for that they had not courage, nor were able to endure the tediousnesse of a Warr. And in another passage of the same writings, we may see that it is oftentimes cowardice and not boldnesse, to remit all to the decision of one Battle; and that more are found who will willingly offer themselves to death, then who will manfully suffer pain.

The Emperor *Otho* was conquered, because he had not patience to conquer: He kil'd himself out of daintinesse, and chose rather to perish quickly, then to suffer but a while: without shewing any fear, or being put to slight, he was the deserter of his Party, and the fugitive of his own Army: He wanted neither Counsell nor strength; he had the fairest Troops, and the most desirous to do well that ever were seen; and yet by reason of one day which was not fortunate to them, he abandoned the victory to an enemy who in all things was inferiour to him, and quitted his party because he got not at the first blow. He renounced the Empire, his honour and his life, for not being able to support the doubt and uncertainty of the future; and the care of being still sollicitous after his affairs, seemed so troublesome to him, that in some sort to be at leisure, he went out of the world.

We see by this, that weaknesse, as well as necessity, carryes men to desire extreame, and that not only the valiant and the desperate despise death, but also the nice and discontented.

The opinion of misery toucheth weak minds more violently then misery it self; they believe they do very much to save themselves from being toss'd, to fall down, and preferr an ill condition before an uncertain one: It is impossible for them to let events succeed, and to expect the maturity of things: They would hasten the course of Providence, and advance its effects; they would manage at their pleasure its motions and periods: They would lead it, and not follow it, as if it were Their providence, and not Gods.

Wise men do otherwise, *David* gives this testimony of himself; That he hath patiently waited for the Lord, who deceived him not: And yet this impatience is so naturall to a man, and so hard to be overcome, that he confesseth, that the successes which he hoped for, have oftentimes wearied his hopes; that his spirit was dismayed in the consideration of what was to come, and his faith weakned by the length of time which came not; that many times murmurings slipt from him, even to doubt of his Anointing, and of the word of *Samuel*, saying, *Every man is a lyar*; to say to God himself: *Sleepest thou O Lord?* Hast thou forgot thy Promise? Wilt thou falsifie thy Oath? Now, since a Prince who was assured of Gods design, by express Revelations, and by an infallible knowledg, seeing that the effects of promises went on more slowly then he desired, was disquieted to hope, and had doubts, and beginnings of impatency: What praises shall we bestow upon the *King*? Who not knowing whether his enterprises should be successfull or no, but knowing only that they were just: not knowing whether God would reward them in this world, but knowing only that he doth approve them; brings an invincible firmness and perseverance: from which he can be turned neither by the length of time, nor by the greatness of expence, nor by the number of adversaries, who increase; nor by the default of Friends, who faile; nor by the hardnesse of the matter which he encounters; nor by the repugnancy of the workmen which he employes?

CHAP. XXIII.

Nothing is impossible to a Prince which knowes how to expect and persevere thus; especially when he is young, and hath not only before him a large time to imploy, but can also change his vertue according to the diversity of occasions, and make use of expedition, where patience is not beneficiall.

The Age whereof the King is now, is the age of well-undertaking, and of well-acting, the fulness and perfection of a man, the vigor and solidity of life: Children are not yet come to it, and old men are pass't it; one are the Flowers, the other the bark: These know not the things of the world, the others have forgotten them.

Men grow not old impunely and without some notable diminution of themselves: It costs ordinarily all a mans strength, and a piece of his reason: A man cannot be twice, & we do wrong to call that ripe, which is rotten; and to believe that good counsels can only proceed from the want of naturall heat: This would be to give a very dishonourable beginning to Prudence, to make it the daughter of Infirmary: It would be, to be ungratefull to God, to attribute to time and other inferiour Causes, the grace which we hold only from him.

Thus the most ancient and best instructed *Philosophers*, having propounded it as a generall Belief, that good sence is the possession of the Ancient, and that the multitude of years teacheth wisdom: He concludes that he had bin of that opinion, but that since he had known, That the Ancient do not alwayes understand judgment, and that old men are not alwayes wise: That it is the Inspiration of the Almighty which giveth understanding, and that the spirit is from man, and not from age.

And a *Rabbin*, who is of no small authority among the *Jews*, expounding that Text of holy Scripture, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*; concludes from these words; That yong men are admitted neerer God then old men, and that they have a more particular communication of his secrets; Forasmuch as the knowledg which is drawn from a vision, is clearer and more distinct, then that which proceeds from a dream.

If we may believe those who have the honour to be neer the King, and to consider the most inward course of his life, the source of his actions; he is so happie in what he conceiveth, and judgeth so certainly of uncertain things, that it appears he beholds them not after our manner, and that he is guided by a purer light then that of ordinary reason; The most part of the great resolutions which he hath taken, have bin sent him from Heaven; The greatest part of his Counsels come from a superiour Prudence, and are rather to be accounted the immediate Inspirations of God, then proposals made by men. He oftentimes finds truth without taking the pains to search for it; and the suddenest motion of his thought, is ordinarily so rationall and so concluding, that the following discourse doth only approve that first act, without adding any new thing thereto.

I know there is a miserable science which men learn by their faults and their misfortunes; and that many become Physitians from the strength and frequency of their diseases. But yet this advantage of long age, which is got only by the losse of the dearest and most precious part of our life, is not wanting to the *Kings* youth; and fortune hath assembled so many divers events, and hath made him see in a throng such a number of affairs, that you will say, that she had a design to give him an abridg'd experience, and to teach him in an Epitome; she was never more busie, never more active then under his raing; she hath hid nothing from him of all the strange things she could produce; she hath brought to light even the utmost of her malice: She hath not reserved one blow which she hath not stricken: she hath shewed him in lesse then 19 years the image of many ages.

There have passed some whole seasons, wherein the world seemed to be a sleep, and that there was, as it were, a generall suspension of all the functions of an active life; There is a *vacuum*, an emptie space in the memorie of things: Renown gives but a very slender testimony thereof: Books tell us no news; there is not any History of that time, or at most it is only imployed in describing the Feasts and Masks at the *Carnevall*, in representing the order of a Ceremony, and magnificence of a *Turney*, in relating the Arrivall of some King to his Capitall City, or the Solemnities of his Marriage. We are not borne in such soft and idle seasons: the Reign of the King is not of this sort. It is remarkable as well by its proper storms, as by the changes and revolutions which have hapned in all Europe: There hath bin

nothing but tumults and hurli-burly, but Civil and domestick divisions, but revolts or intendments to them; They never disarmed for good and all, nor was there any concord or agreement which was not broken the next day: The publick good, and the reformation of the State, have almost ruined the Publick and the State three or foure times: Majestie hath bin assaulted on all sides, and by all kind of engines and plots. He hath bin fain to avenge it of the outrages of those that contemned it, to draw it out of their hands that abus'd it; He hath been compel'd to punish his Lovers, and his Enemies, to defend himself from within against evill Counsellors, and from without against Rebels; to purchase the Covetous, to honor the Ambitious, and at last to conquer both the one and the other. The King hath bin nourished in this fair Calme, he hath grown up amidst these oppositions and contradictions.

This was the pastime of his Infancy, and the recreations he was allowed, after the death of the late *King* his Father: These are the flowers which he found in the way he made; the shades and resting places which were erected for him in his passage: Yet to say the truth, so harsh and rigid an exercise hath not bin unprofitable to him. The tempest hath taught him the art of swimming; Adversity hath read him lessons which he wil make use of all his life; He hath not lost his time in so sad a School: Pains afford more instructions then pleasures; It is much better for him that Adversaries have exercised his vertue, then that Flatterers had corrupted it: He hath drawn much more profit from his great variety of misfortunes, then he could have had contentment from so long a peace, whose daies are all alike. At least, in a good houre he hath learned hence to be secret, having had at first to encounter a multitude of Traitors and Spies, and to guard himself from all the cunning of an evill time; He hath acquir'd the perfection of that quality, which makes man the true possessor of himself, and whereby he is not put in the power of another, by an inconsiderate liberty; that he retains a settled mind in the ambushments and enterprises of wicked men: That he spends by measure and with discretion, and leaves no outward mark of his Intentions to those that should not know them: He hath practised before their season, and in the Innocence of his first years, the other vertues of old age; and at the age where we begin to observe onely good inclinations, we have admired perfect Habits.

We have seen a wise Child, a judicious Child, a Child equally instructed in the affaires of peace and of warr. We have seen a Child jealous of his Authority, a Child the Rivall and Emulator of the glory of a great *King* his Father, a Child himself the Father of his Countrey. We have seen Conspiracies extinguished, Tyrants rooted out, Cities forced, Armies broken by a Child. What shall I say more? He hath done very opportunely, all that he ought to do to conquer; and if we change the Theater of his actions, he would have conquered the Provinces which he hath preserved. He hath bin victorious in this Kingdome, and will be the same elsewhere when it shall please him: He can find nothing difficult, having subjected the *French* to reason.

And certainly, when he shall be seen in the head of his Armies, that he ranks his Souldiers himself, that he appoints their Quarter, that he causeth the Carriages to come, that he may see what places are convenient to take, or to be quitted; when it shall be he that gives all the charges, who makes the principall commands, who takes notice of the least functions of every charge, things must needs turn out of their ordinary course, nor go the way they ought, if he thrived no better then the *Princes* who reigned at their ease in the bosome of a Wife, or of a Mistress, and who beholding their affaires nowhere, but in the dispatches of their Lievetenants, expecting ordinarily the success 300 Leagues from the warr.

CHAP. XXIV.

YEt all this need not cause fear in any one, this throng of vertues will oppress no body; he hath a Conscience so tender, that it can suffer no weight upon it, nor any thing that recedes never so little from perfect equity: It must first be satisfied before he can content his courage, and must first approve the design which he hath, before he forme his resolution.

He sayes not to the *Casuists*, find reasons wherefore I may go aside, and perswade me that I am innocent, though I find my self guilty. The rest and quiet of his soul is not established by such easie means, not depends upon the subtilty of a Doctor. He is the Judge of others works, but the Tyrant (if I may so say) of his own, and never does himself that favour, which others may sometimes receive from him.

In the most advantageous business which can be proposed to him, if he were assured of the prosperity of the success, and were not certain of the goodness of the Cause, he would stop upon this difficulty, and courageously refuse Scepters and Crowns if they were presented to him; I do not say with a mortall sin which he were oblig'd to commit, but with one doubtfull action, and which had need of an exposition, lest he might faile in the undertaking.

He fears not the oppositions of *Princes*, the Confederacies of *Republicks*, the Forces of many *Kings* assembled together against the Justice of his Armes. He fears not the injuries of the season, the difficulty of the places, a multitude of different dangers which threaten his person at the warr; But truly he fears God: And were there as many worlds indeed, as some *Philosophers* have built in their fancy, to have them all, he would not offend him once.

This Fear hath nothing of Cowardice and softnesse; It may fall upon the spirit of a man perfectly courageous, it is not contrary to true valour, it is not faintnesse of heart, but strength of judgment: It is not a passion, but a vertue; of which the Fathers have spoken, when they say, that in the soul of a Christian fear must be the Guardian of Innocence; and the Apostle before them, when he exhorts the *Philippians* to be carefull for their salvation with fear and trembling: With this Fear the Holy *Patriarchs* were seised; those hardy and magnanimous men, who wrestled with Angels, who knew that they should be the Ancestors of the Saviour of the World: Who were the friends, the Entertainers, the Familiars of God: And yet the privity which they had with him, took not away their fear, nor this neer acquaintance hinder them from being afraid of his Supream Justice.

I have oftentimes admired in the Books of *Moses* those strange manner of speeches: The God of *Abraham*, The God of *Isaac*, and the *Feare* of *Jacob*. And *Jacob* sware by the *Feare* of *Isaac* his Father, that is to say, by the God of his Father.

The very place where God appeared to one of them, hath the name *Fearfull*, of a truth the *Lord* is in this place: He was afraid, and cried, this place is *Fearfull*; and elsewhere, He that is terrible, who taketh away the

heart of *Princes*, and is *Fearfull* to the *Kings* of the Earth; this in one word is God: And St. *Paul* saith of *Moses*, that he was afraid and trembled, so terrible was that which appeared unto him. So that it is spoken of *Feare* almost every where, where it is spoken of Divinity: And these admirable *Personages* who presented themselves with an assured Confidence to the fury of the incensed people, who brav'd the anger of *Kings*, and despis'd the power of Devils, had so great an apprehension of displeasing God, that God is simply called their *Feare*.

Thus the *King* is fearfull, he hath the fear of wise and valiant men; he trembleth in the presence of the Lord: His Maximes never offend the duties of Charity, his Politique Prudence is not contrary to the simplicity of Christians; he hath seated Integrity in the Throne, and remembring that he is the Companion of his Subjects in the service of their great *Master*; and that the Care of his Salvation is his most important business; he perceives that by right of a Servant the most obliged ought to be the most faithfull, and that it would be a miserable advantage for him to be able to sin with Authority; to obey neither Lawes nor Reason, to make his Independance appear, to fill Annals and Histories with his Conquests, and to be blotted out of the Book of Life.

CHAP. XXV.

I Cannot conceale in this place my just grief; it is very importunate to cry without ceasing against the Times and the manners: I am troubled to meet in my way, *Vice*, the Enemy of that vertue which I seek for, and not to be able to praise the King without blaming others.

But what way is there to speak of *Hercules*, if there be no mention of *Monsters*? To consider a Conqueror without Enemies? To handle the Cure and Reformation of things, without telling what they were, and their diseases, I cannot endure to see, that That honesty which I esteem so much, hath never bin sufficiently esteemed; and that bold or witty Injustice, hath alwayes had approbation and partners.

The Republick lesse corrupted of any in the world, authorized evill, provided it were done with some subtilty: In *Lacedemon* they did not punish

those that stole, but those that knew not how to do it neatly, and they were condemned for having bin idle and lazie, and not for having bin unjust. I remember I have seen in a place this pretty, definition of an Ambassador; An Ambassador is a grave man sent abroad to Lye for the Commonwealth. It is commonly maintained, that of an ill Subject may be made a good *Prince*: And *Cicero* was offended, as if one had injur'd his reputation and honor, when *Brutus* call'd him an honest man: He complained to *Atticus*, their common Friend, in a Letter which he wrot him; and tells him he could not digest the harshnesse of that word, and in his opinion, if *Catiline* would have praised him, he could not have done it worse.

For this once, I will blame a person, whom elsewhere I infinitely respect, and who shall be sacred and inviolable in every other occasion but this. There is not any praise I value so much, as that which *Cicero* contemns, and I esteem the good much more then the wise or valiant. Without goodnesse They are Serpents, and These are Wolves; Wisdome is only a subtile poyson, and a piercing consumption; Valour an enraged hunger and thirst of humane blood. The wise, if they are Subjects, betray their *Prince* and sell the State; The valiant assault his Person, and put themselves in his place. The one do alwaies suspect him, the other alwaies feare him. If they are *Princes*, there is no safety in their Court, nor peace in their Kingdome. They disquiet their Neighbours, and weary yet more their Subjects. Warr is neither ended by Treaty nor Victory: They keep their word no longer then they have the first occasion to break it; nor are ever quiet, but when they are not able to stirr. Lastly, these rare qualities which the world admires, resemble those glorious lights which sparkle in the aire, and shed forth a pestilence upon the earth. These vertues are evill and dangerous to the Common-wealth, or rather they are not vertues at all: And without doubt we must rest satisfied with that infallible Oracle of Truth: That wisdome entreth not into a malicious soul: And elsewhere it is said, *That the Children of this generation are wiser then the Children of light*; And we read in the Gospel of St. *Luke*, that the wicked Steward did many things prudently. Neverthelesse, seeing it is most certain that humane wisdome is foolishnesse with God, and there is no more Prudence without his fear, then there can be a building without a foundation. We must believe that in these passages our Lord speaks tenderly with his Children, and accommodates himself to vulgar language. For as sometimes we call those white who are pale, and take fulnesse of body

for healthfulness; so many times we give certain vices the names of virtues which are neer unto them.

But forasmuch as Empyricks are not received into the body of Physitians, and Philosophers could never indure Sophisters, against whom they are so eager in all their writings; Let us at least be as forward as they, Seeing we are to draw the picture of a *Prince* who is not of the Race of the *Ottomans*, but the Grand-child of Saint *Lewis*; since the *King* preserves himself pure in the midst of corruption, and that he reignes by Christian *Maximes*; Let us stoutly withstand evill opinions, we are assured He follows them not; Let us stay awhile to contest with the vice of the Court, and those great Nobles, with whom he hath no part. Let us not fear that he is displeas'd at us, if we reckon not Cheaters amongst men of skill, and if we do not call vertue cunning.

Admit there be, if you will, an Art of Cozening, a learned and Disciplin'd naughtinesse, a Systeme of Rules and Precepts to come to an evill end; let it be wit, knowledge, experience: but let us not do this injury to wisdom, to make her dwell in the midst of vices, neither let us confine it in the Conscience of a wicked man.

See in what tearms she speaks of her self, in the book that bears her name: She that knoweth the time past, and judgeth of that which is to come, who knoweth the subtilty of words, and the solution of Arguments, who seeth signs and wonders before they happen, and the events of times and ages: She is a raye from God, and a pure influence from the brightness of the Almighty; and therefore can have no filth in her; and a little Tower: She is the splendor of the everlasting light, the Image of the goodness of God, the spotless glass of his *Majestie*; and in another place it is said: The fear of the Lord is wisdom, and to depart from evill is understanding: And again, The Soul of the holy man declareth Truth, and seeth more then seven Watchmen set upon a Mountain.

The *Pagans* generally were not of a contrary opinion, though they were not enlightned by faith, and walked only in the night; they have found the truth sometimes by Torch-light. Amongst them, those that had the rightest opinions, and pass'd the soundest judgment upon things, never divided

Prudence from honesty; and though they believed that the extent of reason was more free, and less confin'd in the Politicks then in Morality; yet they conceived not, that That space must be infinite, and that whatever is evill and forbidden in Families, is good and lawfull in the *State*; They have said, that the Gods had much more obliged men, in not giving them this Reason, then to have bestowed it upon them to be prejudiciall to the world, and to torment themselves: That this beam of Divinity, this quick motion of the thought, this point which pierceth and penetrateth all things, were but a sad present to them, and a pernicious liberality; if they should make use of it only to the dammage and loss of another, and if what they have common with the gods, render'd them more savage and more miserable then the beasts. They have believed as well as us, that Loyalty is the foundation of all business and commerce, that by it we hold together one with another; that those that are divided by the distance of place, by the difference of language, by the diversity of Religion, are united by the means of good faith and upright dealing: That a man may deale with dumb men, but not with perfidious; and silence is more sociable then lying: They have held, that a man gain'd nothing by telling a lye, but not to be believed when he speaks truth, leaving us this consequence; that we must be honest men of necessity and out of Interest, when we cannot be by Inclination nor will; since evill is as unprofitable as dishonest, and the first cheate ordinarily excludes the second; and confidence once lost, it is not possible to hurt or profit any body.

In the Ancient Fables which were presented, by authority of the Magistrate, for the instruction of the people, and which yet are the true mirrors of humane life, we see that the *Hero's* and *Princes* protest aloud, that they hate dissembling more then death, and that there is no way whereby they be resolved to deceive, even where Varlets are, and people of no account, who are employed to plot Treasons, and make windings and labyrinths; and though in such like actions there wants wit and subtilty: yet because deceit is a tacite confession of weakness, which doth that in secret, which it dares not do openly; they suppose it was not convenient to attribute it to great courages. So that *Titus Livius* is sharply reprehended by Seneca, for saying of one of the Troublers of his Age, that he had a spirit no lesse great then wicked: It being impossible in the judgement of that Philosopher, that these two qualities should subsist in one and the same subject; great and evill seeming as contrary to him, as great and little.

But this is nothing to what happened to *Euripides*, for that verse which he made *Hyppolitus* speak in one of his Tragedies: *I have sworn with my tongue, but not with my mind*. For the next day after the Acting, he received a personall inditement, and was prosecuted with all the rigor of Justice, as if he had bin willing to corrupt the manners of the *Greeks*, and teach the people perjury. Not that it was forbidden *Tragick Poets* to make evill Maximes proceed from wicked men, when they brought them upon the Stage; but because *Hyppolitus* was known for a perfect vertuous man, they thought that *Euripides* would authorize a lye by the example of so grave a person, and so much esteemed; and to perswade the spectators, in letting this vice run among many laudable qualities, that unfaithfulness was not incompatible with Wisdome.

CHAP. XXVI.

ARistotle makes mention of this Criminall Process, and that the *Deceivers* of our time may know that they do wrong to pretend to *Prudence*, being unfurnished of other vertues, which are all eminently discovered in the Person of the *King*.

It will not be amisse, to shew them their condemnation in the writings of this wise Governour of *Alexander*, whose testimony is so much the rather to be received, because he believes only in reason, having no revealed knowledg; and besides lived in a Court extreamly corrupted, and under a *Prince* as crafty at least, and as subtle, as the Duke of *Valentinois* and King *Lewis* the XI. could be. Besides that, he distinguisheth between *Prudence* and subtilty of Spirit. Inasmuch as This bears it self indifferently towards good and evill: Whereas *Prudence* is constant and unchangeable in the search of good; and that he hath made one expresse chapter in the 7 Book of his *Ethicks*; wherein he proveth, that it is impossible to be Prudent and Incontinent both together. He observeth moreover in another place, that in taking assunder the compound word, whereby the *Greeks* expresse *Temperance*, we shall find the Primitive word to signifie the Guardian and Preserver of *Prudence*: Because *Temperance* preserveth the soundnesse of Judgement, and procures it that galliard and lively disposition, by which, without troubling or disquieting it self, it knows what is serviceable and what

is hurtful to the sovereign good: Not that Intemperance corrupteth all kind of Judgement; for it is most certain, that it corrupteth not those things which lie in speculation, but only those which have practise for their object. As to be Intemperate, makes not a man unable to judge whether it be true or no, that a Triangle hath three Angls equall to two streight ones, and that two Parallel lines, continued in Infinitum, cannot be joyned together; But it makes him unable to judge, whether he ought to revenge an injury, or pardon it, Whether he should keep *Helen*, or restore her to her Husband; because to judge well whether a thing be feasible or no, it is necessary to know the end. Now he that is Intemperate, whose judicative facultie, grief or pleasure hath corrupted, cannot discern that end, amidst the continuall dazling which his evill passions cause in him.

True Prudence then is a Habite, wch renders the understanding apt know, and practise those things to which serve to make a man happie: Which (as the same Philosopher goes on) that other Habite, which we call Art, doth not effect; Because its Function consisteth in working conformably to the Rules and Ordinances of Reason, and in doing things which are Morally good, and contribute to felicity: So that a Man may be a good Artist, and yet not an honest Man; But a Man cannot be a Prudent Man, but withall he must be an honest Man; Because a Man cannot be Prudent unlesse he practise those things that are Morally good. Moreover it is better to fail voluntarily in an Art, then to fail ignorantly: And contrarily, it is better to fail ignorantly against the Rules of Prudence, then voluntarily; seeing those things are not Morally good, to which Art is fixed, as those are, to which Prudence is; and therefore a Man cannot err willingly against the Rules which it prescribes, but he must commit some vicious action; because the failing lies in this, that he joynes himself to those things which are Morally evill.

These and such like *Maximes* are found in the Books of Philosophers, who have bin most frequent in the Court, and have had the neerest accesse to Great men: The other Families have not held a contrary opinion, nor hath any one of them approved a malicious Prudence: But those latter *Platonicks*, that are of those Fools who sometimes are in their right wits, and who have some rationall intervals, deserve to be heard in this businesse: And indeed against such a publick evill as this, we must arme all sorts Enemies, and oppose against it whatever can fight and combate it.

Having made something a long digression upon divers sorts of opinions, (which for this once I will esteem an effect of Heroicall Prudence) at last they propose one which is not to be rejected, and which makes greatly to our present subject. There are, as they reckon, besides Death, five kinds of Separations by which the Soul is divided from the Body; and is lifted so far above mortall and perishable; that in this condition she knows not only that which is farr off, but also that which never yet happened; It assists not only to the birth and events of things, but to their Projects and Conception. The first of these Separations happens in sleeping, chiefly in sober men, who by an ordinary abstinence do abate those clouds, as it were, which rise from the inferiour part, hindering any trouble or contagion to arise to the spirit; and beholding in their Imagination, as in a most transparent Glasse, the objects which others cannot discover in theirs, which is all sullied and defaced with the vapors and steam of meats. The second, consists in an entire benumbednesse of the spirits, and by that failing of the heart and breath, whereby people fall in a swoon: From whence proceeded those Extasies of *Socrates*, who remain'd sometimes from Sun-rising to Sunset, without moving at all; And those of *Plato*, who using to meditate in this sort, dyed at last in that essay of Death; And those of one *Enarchus*, who having delivered up the ghost, as was believed, came to himself again, and assur'd them that he was well, but that *Nichandus*, the most famous Champion of that time, should certainly die such a day, which came accordingly to passe.

So pure and subtile a knowledge is formed from the superabundance of the melancholick humour, which is as proper to receive Divine Inspirations, and to be overspread with celestiall fire, as dry and thin matters are more combustibile then others: But it proceeds most perfectly, say they, from the just proportion of humors, and from that admirable internall harmony, in which the Spirit, like the Magistrate in a well uinted Corporation where all the people are at agreement, finds no obstacle in his offices, and uses without reservation or restriction, the power which he hath received from his Sovereign.

The third *Separation*, if I mistake not, comes from the repose and peace of solitariness, where the spirit escaped from the Captivity of Cities, and

discharged of the weighty and troublesome employments of life, beholds heaven more uncovered, and communicates more familiarly with God.

They believe that in this peaceable School *Zoroaster* studied those 20 years in which he appear'd not, and learnt the Science of foretelling, which he left in his Books of Divination, which are lost; and thus we are to understand the 10 years that *Pythagoras* was conceal'd, and those 50 which *Epimenides* slept, during which time their soul, having no commerce with their sense, was vacant to a most perfect manner of Philosophying, and already injoy'd the privilege of Immortality, and the liberties of another life.

The *Platonicks* do not end their *Separations* here, but from this they passe to a fourth, which proceedeth from admiration, and a certain religious horror which filleth persons agitated with some Divinity, such as were the women whom they cal'd *Pythiae*, who drew out the knowledge of future things: For transported as they were with their God coming to enter into their Grot, and thinking with a violent attention upon his presence and his mysteries; they were seised with so great an astonishment, and possessed with so strange a superstition, that presently their soul forsaking their body, and breaking all its chains, was carryed to the highest knowledge of simple Spirits, and acted supernaturally by the strength of that divine fever.

Here our *Platonicks* leave off to dream, and their last manner of knowing future things is altogether for us; to wit, an intire victory over evill passions; a perpetuall abstinence from forbidden pleasures, an inviolable chastity of Soul and Body, it being very credible, in their opinion; That God, who is purity it self, takes pleasure to make his abode in the heart of the Chast; that he sets up a light there which penetrateth the darknesse of future things, and that he hides from them none of his enterprises. To which also the Holy Fathers seem to assent, and particularly St. *Jerome*, who holds that the *Sybils*, though otherwise Infidels, and strangers to the people of God, received nevertheless from him the gift of *Prophecy*, in honour of their Virginity, and for a Temporall reward of their virtues.

I will not serve my turn with these opinions which I believe not, nor attribute the *Prudence* of the *King*, either to his sobriety, it being most true, that he lives, as it were, only of spirit, and that by the means of Temperance

the superior part of his soul enjoys a perpetuall serenity; or to his removals from the City, whereof *Hunting* is commonly the pretence, in which, with a calme sight, and an uninterested Judgment, he considers things in the purity of their being, which we behold but obliquely through our passions which trouble us, and in the infection of the world which altereth them.

I will no more attribute them to this quality so proper to contemplation, and which fixeth it self inseparably to the objects which it embraceth; to that Temperature so esteemed of by the *Philosophers*, which communicates nothing of weight, which can incline them towards the earth. For in effect, as there is an earthly melancholy which sends up none but black and thick vapours to the brain, and fills it with nothing but phantasmes, which bury the Soul in the matter; which causeth either continuall dreams, or often stupidity; so there is a well digested and refined melancholy, which casts forth a fire which neither burns nor smoaks; to which may be applyed that saying of the Ancient, That dry light is most lively and full of lustre. There is a subtile and ingenuous sadness, which hath bin even at Heaven to search for Truth, and at the foundations of the deep: which invented Arts and Sciences, which formed all the *Statuas* of *Phidias*, and brought forth all the Books of *Aristotle*; which carried Caesar to usurp the Liberty of his Countrey, and *Brutus* to deliver his Countrey from the power of *Caesar*; which, in a word, is the faire maladie of the soul, and the most common temper of *Hero's*, *Saints*, and other extraordinary men.

It is not therefore from thence, that I deduce the prudence of the *King*; I make it come from a more noble and clearer spring: I believe with the Christian *Philosophers*, that alwayes God hath had a most speciall care to enlighten the Chast and vertuous, and that the Spouse is not more pleas'd among the Lillies, then the Eternall wisdom, that governs her, is pleas'd willingly to repose himself upon pure and innocent Souls: All other wisdom which comes elsewhere, is illegitimate and dangerous; all other fires, though never so pure and sparkling, deceive men in enlightning them, and lead them into rivers, or into precipices.

It were almost as good consult the Devils, and enquire after what's to come by Magick, as to have prescience without honesty. Is it not to turn medicines into poysons, to use Reason to sin? To what purpose is it to be

subtle to invent Heresies which are worse then ignorance? What serves it for to be able to make a hurly-burly, if a man must first lose his own rest to disquiet anothers? To what purpose is it to have the cunning of *Lodowick Sforza*, and to be dextrous to ruine his State, which an ordinary Spirit had bin able to preserve by easie and generall rules?

They shall never perswade me, that Quick-silver is better then Gold; nor that a turbulent and affrighted Imagination, can be a surer guide to manage businesses, then a calme and well-resolved Judgment; nor that the Prudence of *Tyberius* was better then that of *Lewis the Just*: The one was busied in assuring himself of that *Old man* whom he alwayes feared; It abandoned the care of affaires, and the Government of the *Empire*, to be at leisure to observe only one man; It ravished *Germanicus* from the whole earth: It caused a stranger *Prince* to be put to death, who came to *Rome* upon the Publick Faith. The other hath for its object the Universall good, and the Common felicity, nor is imployed but to maintain the things of the world in a good state, and to make Justice raign; It desires no other advantage from its victories, but what procures reputation abroad, and a good conscience at home.

CHAP. XXVII.

UPon this, the feeble lean, and the weary rest themselves: His factious neighbours, who were subject to live in a continuall unquietness, confide more in this for their security, then to the number of their Armies which they can bring into the field, and to their Alliances whereby they endeavor to strengthen themselves.

This admirable vertue which terrifies them at first, serves them for a bulwark against it self: They count it among the advantages which they think they have, and preserve themselves lesse by their Armes, then by the honesty of their Enemy. His Justice hath the direction and guidance of his valour; This might overturn all, if That did not support all: Without this Counterpoize no body could be assured of his condition. Christianity, whereof he makes a most serious profession, limits the deportment of his courage, tames in his spirit that fierceness which is born with *Hero's*, and enthral, as I may so say, his Ambition and boldness, which, without doubt,

would make a wonderfull progress if they acted in their full liberty, and with the whole extent of their power. It toucheth not another mans goods, knowing very well, that God hath taken it into his particular protection, by one of the Commandements of the *Decalogue*. He ravisheth not, living under Laws which permit not so much as to desire; he takes no care to commit Tyrannicall actions, seeing he believes not lawfull to conceive unjust wishes.

And to speak soberly, it may seem that God hath an intention, that he alone shall have the Universall *Monarchy*, nor that any other hands but his shall bear up that frame which he hath built: He finds it not good, that men should enterprise to change the order which he hath established among them; That the last Commers should dispute the places which he hath already bestowed, and trouble the *Oeconomie* of the Universe, whereof he is the Author: violent Dominions please him not; He had rather his should suffer wrong, then do it; and is so farr from permitting them to live of the prey, that he counsels them to live of almes; He recommends nothing to us but peace, love, and charity: He sent not the Holy Ghost in forme of an *Eagle*, but of a *Dove*; and his only Sonne who came to redeem the world, and at once to bury the Synagogue, and to tread under foot all Infidelity, did so much esteem lawfull power, that being to call himself a *King*, and to do strange things; he would be born of the Royall Blood, nor did condemn the ordinary wayes, that his Empire might not appear an usurpation, and that by humane reason he might defend the Title which was given him.

I wonder not, that the *Princes* who will not acknowledg the God-head of Christ, do estrange themselves from his example, and are not subject to a Law which they have not received. The *Mahometans* think they merit when they kill strangers, and their Cruelty is one of the Principles of their Religion: They make no scruple to conquer, because therein they do nothing but what their Prophet exhorted them to; and it is to Persecutors, and not to Martyrs that he promiseth a better life after this.

This Cheater, who provided for nothing in his Religion but temporall Greatnesse and a present good, and who dreamt rather of marshall Souldiering, then of saving souls, banisheth from his Paradise all peaceable persons, and names those Cowards whom our Lord calls Just. Let no man, saith he, turne his back, unlesse it be to take advantage, upon pain of

incurring divine indignation: For it is requisite that the brave Champions of God and of his Prophet remaine firme at the encounter of two Armies, and in so doing they shall obtain a generall pardon for all their faults.

In another place, he saith, Are you of opinion that the entrance of Heaven shall be open to you, if first you give not good proof that you are Magnanimous and Valiant Warriors? No, my Friends, assure your selves, God loves none but the Valiant; That he is truly happie who dies in the Warr; and if you finish your dayes there, your death shall be worthily rewarded; if you shall be willing to live again, that you may once more be slain: And a little before, he Authorizeth his Tyranny by the expresse command of God, whom he brings in speaking thus: And Thou my Prophet; Go fight, and overcome the Incredulous, Pillage them, Sack them, handle them with rods of Iron, that they may fear; for all is the Prophets, and his faithfull Souldiers.

So that, by this meanes, imagining the world is their Inheritance, and that the whole possession thereof belongs to them; they believe they never usurp over another, but recover only that which hath bin usurped from them; That they do no injurie to any body, but cease only to receive one; that it is permitted to them to re-enter upon their goods by those meanes that seem shortest and most convenient for them; That there is nothing more lawfull for them, then what God himself hath adjudged, and that they may use that right which their Law-Giver hath left them over all the Kingdomes of the Earth. For it is one of their visions, that as he came out of his Mothers wombe, An Angel brought him three keyes made of three great Pearls, whereof one was the key of Lawes, another the key of Prophecy, and the third that of Victory; Which he seizing upon, seiz'd also the possession of all these things. But to speak truth, the last gave power to the two first, and if he had not overcome, he had neither bin believed, nor followed.

The whole design of his Religion relates to Victories, his Prophecies are only favourable to Conquerours; The most part of his Laws are militarie Ordinances; he acknowledgeth none for his, but the violent and unjust: And that he may drive them more strongly to the desolation of Kingdomes, it was not enough for this Impostor to declare unto them, that they might conquer with a safe Conscience; but he brands them with a kind of Infamy, when they content themselves with their own Line in peace: From whence it comes to

passe, that it is not permitted to the *Ottoman Princes* to found an Hospitall nor to make a Mosque, if first they have not gained a Conquest, to which it is necessary that themselves were present. Whereupon it is that the *Mufty*, and the other inferiour Interpreters of their prophane Ceremonies, used all their Credit towards the *Sultan Acmet*, who never had bin at the Warr to hinder the structure of the Temple which he was building, which therefore was surnamed by the Lawyers, *The Incredulous Mosque*, because he was so obstinate as to finish it against the authority of their Traditions, and the Remonstrances which they made to him.

I find it not strange that the *Turks* do invade the Lands of their Neighbours, upon this false perswasion which they have to do Acts of Piety, and to find themselves obliged according to their Law, as also by the honor of their Conscience: But forasmuch as *Jesus Christ* hath nothing common with *Mahomet*, and that the *Pope* and the *Mufty* hold *Maximes* directly opposite; I cannot comprehend how Christians believing in the Gospel should follow the *Alcoran*; I cannot so much as guesse at the reasons they can have, so cruelly to fall upon the slaughter of the life and liberty of their Brethren; nor do I know in what time, nor by the emission of what *Angel* they have obtained a dispensation of their first Laws, and a permission to violate Justice. In our Religion, Reason and Equity ought to be the bounds of the wills of *Kings*, as Rivers and Mountains are of their Kingdomes; They should put in the same ranke things unjust and impossible: And since it is no imperfection in God, that he cannot sin, so neither should it be in them a defect of power, that they cannot do evill. What appearance is there that small faults should be punished, and great ones honored: That the Enormousnesse of the Action should be that which authorizeth the Crime, and justifieth the Criminal; and that a poor Fellow who seeks only to get his living upon the Sea with one Bark, should be call'd a Pirate, and wish'd ill by every one; and that another who followes the same Trade with a puissant Navie should be an Emperor, and praised of all the world.

Certainly there is no appearance of equity in it; And we ought absolutely to reject the sentence of the Tragick Poet so often chanted upon the *Theaters*, and so familiar in the mouth of a Tyrant; That in matter of *State*, and to command, it is lawfull to violate right, but it must be observed in any thing else: Casting my eyes back upon this pretty sentence, and looking something

neerer upon it, I find not much sense in it, and yet is it more absurd then dangerous. For if it be true, as they hold in these times, that other wickednesses are comprehended in Tyrannie, as the lesser numbers in the greater, and that it is the ruine and dissolution of the body Politick; How is it possible to preserve one part of Justice, and to destroy the whole? To admit the accomplishment and the last degree of evill, and to exclude thence the Principles and the Elements? To think to retain life at the end of a finger, when the Body is already dead and fallen in pieces? Whoever speaks thus, certainly hath no understanding, nor agrees with himself: He seems to defend something in shew, but grants all in effect, and saith, though it be not his intention to say it, that there must speciall care be had, not to be perjur'd or sacrilegious, or a Parricide severally, but that a man may be lawfully all three together; and so become Innocent by the excess and number of his faults.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE Ancient Idolaters, who had only some light guesses, and simple conjectures of true vertue, and who consequently were not tyed to so perfect an uprightness as we are, have condemned these Tyrannicall speeches before us. They tried, at least, to ground themselves upon Reason, when they set upon any People, and said not barely that the end of their Conquests was to conquer.

It was an opinion generally received among the *Greeks*, that Warr was permitted against the *Barbarians*; whereof there were two sorts, and which they ordinarily separated into two Classes: For though their vanity extended this word to all those that spake not their language, nor were governed according to their Customes, yet giving it sometimes a more strict and limited signification, and restraining it to fewer persons, they understood by it only the *Medes*, or the *Persians*, with whom they alwayes had dealing, or the furthest Nations of the world, who lived without Laws and discipline, in the ignorance and Infirmy of Nature not at all assisted by Education.

Now it is very true, they had no great reason to love the former, because they were the Immortall Enemies of their name and Countrey, which they had invaded many times with fire and sword, of which they had no constant and perpetuall design to render themselves Masters, and who desired with all

their power, that the *King of Persia* might be adored by the *Grecian Priests*, and served by the *Lacedemonian* slaves. Thus so high an Insolence pricked them on very lively, and the hatred they bore them was such, that in all their Assemblies before they deliberated of any thing, they publicly cursed him that should be of opinion they might make friendship or Alliance with them: And in their more solemn Feasts, the *Herauld* had an express charge to declare them excommunicated, no less then homicides and sacrilegious persons, and to forbid all strangers in consideration of them, the use of holy things, and participation of their Mysteries.

For the other *Barbarians* of whom I speak, they have so ill an opinion, and esteem them so little, that they will scarce believe them to be Men, or that they have a Soul wholly reasonable; At which I am not much astonished, since in our memory in the Schools of *Spain* they disputed, if the *Indians* were of the race of *Adam*, or were not a middle bastard species between a Man and an Ape. Be it then, that in their opinion they were not creatures like themselves, they conceived they went only to hunt, and gave themselves to an honest exercise when they made warr against them; or be it that they were indeed Men, though not very perfect nor compleat (besides that, both holy & prophane Philosophie do both agree, that the wise Man is by nature Master of him that is not,) they imagined, that the right of humanity exacted from them the ayds and succors which are due to persons that want them, and that they themselves should be Barbarians, if they had not pitty upon those who truly were so, and took not from them that vicious liberty which entertained them in their brutish dispositions to the dishonour of Common nature. They did believe they used charity towards them to subject them to their Dominion, seeing that by their victory they polished the rudeness of their manners; They taught them vertue which they had no knowledg of, and gave them good Laws in place of their ill Customes: Thus to some they brought the Invention of Arts, and shewed them the use of husbandry; others they drew from Caves to place them in Cities. Upon some they imposed Tribute, never more to sacrifice their Children; some they obliged to abstain from humane flesh, and to have respect to the bed of their *Mothers* and *Sisters*, teaching them in the same time to use innocent meates and lawfull pleasures.

But if this change could not be made by fair means, and if the Tyranny of the Habite were such, that they must be constrain'd to be happy, instead of

being miserable: They said that all great Examples have something unjust in them, which are not to be considered in respect of the Universall good: Neither can deceit be called evill when it is profitable to him that is deceived, nor violence deserve that name when it turns to the profit and advantage of him who is enforced. And as there are some things that surpass Reason, which are not therefore unreasonable, especially in matters of Religion; So all that is above Justice, is not therefore unjust, especially in acts of State: And to come to the worst, when their enterprize drew after it the greatest part of the vanquished, at least, their Children received the effect of the good intention of their Conquerors, in as much as they should be nourished in the feare of the Gods, and under the reverence of the Laws, and injoy the fruit which was presented to their Fathers.

These are somewhat neer the reasons upon which the *Greeks* might rest themselves in their Conquests. For the proceedings of the *Romans* we have couch'd them in part already; But though they had all for their end, the greatness of their Empire, yet they were not so blinded with Avarice, nor so wedded to their own Interests, that through the traverses of profit, they did not see the beauty of true Glory; that they were not tempted with that passion which at this day possesseth the *King*, and that sometimes they did not take up Armes for the Liberty of others.

Can there be imagined a more generous decree, and more necessary to be renewed in this season, then that which was given by the *Athenians*, at the instance of the Orator *Demosthenes*? See the substance of it in few words: When *King Philip* assaulted some places over which he had some right, the people of *Athens* did not conceive themselves obliged to intervene in that occasion, nor to meddle in a business that did not at all concern them: but now that *Greece* it self is assaulted, they account it a thing unworthy the glory of their Predecessors, who behold about them *Grecian* Cities which are not free: For this reason the Counsel and the People of *Athens* have judged it expedient to sacrifice to the Gods, and to the *Tutelar Hero's* of the Town and Countrey; and animated by the Generosity of their Ancestors, to whom the publick Liberty hath alwayes bin dearer then the particular good of their Countrey; have ordained that there be set to Sea 200 Vessels, that the Admirall shall saile towards the *Thermopyles*, and the Generall by Land conduct his *Cavalrie* and *Infanterie* towards *Eleusina*: That moreover

Embassadors be dispatch'd towards the other free States of *Greece*, to fortifie them in the design which they ought to have to maintain their Liberty, to exhort them not to be terrified at the Threats of the Enemy, and to assure them that the *Athenians* are resolved to succor with Men, Money, Armes, and Ammunition all those that *Philip* would oppress.

After a long revolution of years, another *Philip* having the same design that the former had (so fatall is this name to the Publick *Liberty*) the *Romanes* proclaim'd Warr against him, and having overcome him, the Feast of the *Istmian Games* falling by chance at that time, and being celebrated at *Corinth*, where there was present a great Concourse of People, they made Proclamation in a full *Theater*, of this that follows.

The *Senate* of *Rome*, and the *Generall Flaminius*, having put the *Macedonians* and *King Philip* in their duty, declare; That their Intention is, that all *Greece* live hereafter according to the Laws, and understand particularly, that the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, Those of the Island of *Euboea*, the *Magnetes*, *Perrhebes*, and the *Achaians* of *Phtia* enjoy the same Immunities, Rights and Priviledges which they enjoyed before *Philip* had seised upon their Dominion.

And though some, to obscure the Lustre of this Action, will say, that the Liberty wherewith they presented them, was rather an apparent and counterfeit Liberty, then true and solid; yet alwayes it was much to undertake a warr at their own cost, to better their condition who were nothing at all to them: It was extreemly to oblige them, to rescue them from slavery, though otherwise they left them in some kind of dependance toward their Protectors; It was not to entreat them ill, to ease them of a load under which they sunk down, to give them a lesser burthen.

The *Romanes* therefore took not all for themselves; Their ambition had some Rules and limits; and though their mind and their desires were vast, yet they were not infinite. When *Scipio* the Censor made the Ceremony of the expired *Lustrum*, and the *Register* was going to rehearse the usuall Prayer whereby the Gods were intreated to render the fortune of the People of *Rome* better and more powerfull then it was; It is good enough and great enough answered he: I only pray that it would please them to continue it to us; and

ordain'd upon the place, that in the publick Acts they should correct the forme of the Prayer, which afterwards was no otherwise recited: So that there was a moderation and a stop in the hearts of the most covetous and most ambitious.

The *Greeks* and *Romanes* bore at least a respect to the Name of vertue; They did not openly make a mock of Right and Equity, and made profession not to take up Armes but in these three Cases; either to revenge Injuries received, or to defend themselves from oppression, or to give Laws to them that had none, approving consequently no warrs but just, or necessary, or honest.

CHAP. XXIX.

GOod God! What resemblance is there with this in the present condition of the Affaires of *Europe*? What is there in the cause of the Conquerors of this Age, that a good Pagan can maintain, or that a good Christian dare excuse?

I see I must once more impeach Tyranny, and pursue it to its inmost retreats, even into the heart of his Subjects, and see whether the Nation be more Innocent then the Counsel. The *Germans*, are they the same to the *Spaniards*, that the *Persians* were to the *Greeks*? Have they almost over-run *Galice* or *Arragon*? Have they pillaged the Churches of *Madrid*? Have they demanded Slaves from *Castile*? Besides, what right have the *Castillians* over *Montferrat*? Do they take the People that inhabite the River *Poe* for Savages? Will they Civilize the *Italians* who keep a School of Gentility & Gallantry, & with whom for a long time all novelties are grown old? They cannot make use of these pretences, nor imploy the Colours of the Grecians to cover their Ambition, and to paint it with some shew of vertue: There is nothing but a desire to become Masters of other mens Habitations, which makes them go out of their own; and this unhappie fancie of a Universal *Monarchie* which is put into their head, which hath made them undertake design upon design, and run after the least noise they perceive. In the midst of peace they have the spirit of Warr, and a seditious will; and when others think they are at rest, they plot only how they may be more active: The reasons of State Torment them day and night; They are leane and sick only for this: and their

perpetuall yellownesse is an internal sign, and a violent impression of that Covetousnesse to reign, which burns and consumes them within.

Gonsolva of *Corduba*, and the Duke of *Alva* are indeed dead, but their Counsels and their Instructions live still: They yet lay Ambushes to freedome and credulity; They yet oppress *Princes*, and make Warr against the liberty of the People. The Children do not degenerate from their Parents; They are as subtle Interpreters of their Treaties; They are as little scrupulous in the observation of the Publick Faith: They use their Religion after the same manner: They swear as boldly upon the Gospels and the Altars all that they are resolv'd not to performe.

For all this we must render an entire Testimony to truth, and do equitie even to injustice it self. The Spaniards are a People of no small Reputation; They are to be commended for many good qualities, and their very vices are specious and carrie a kind of lustre with them. That Idlenesse which was punished at *Athens*, is honored in *Spain*, which remains desart and barren in many places for want of hands to Till and husband it. Artists in that Countrey are ashamed of their Trade; They exercise it in secret, as a thing forbidden, and appeare in publick with their swords by their sides: They account themselves all Gentlemen, and they all speak like Courtiers and Counsellors of State; The meanest Burgesse hath the same thoughts with the Constable of *Castile*; They never bemoane the misery of their condition, because they believe they have a share in the greatness of their Master: There is no man holds himself poor, when he but thinks of the *Mines* of *India*, and who seeks not in the publick happinesse the content which he cannot find in his own particular fortune. I would to God we were as good *French-men*, as they are good *Spaniards*; and that we loved our Countrey with as much passion as they do theirs. Never imagin that they decry the affaires of their Prince as we do, and publish news no way favourable to their Partie. But contrarily if there happens to them the least good successe, they iugment it, they amplifie it, and cause it to be Printed in all Languages; and if there chance any ill luck they excuse it, diminish and disguise it, they cover it with their silence, and hide it under a good face. You see they make triumphs for the taking of any paultry Town, and never appear dejected for the losse of their Fleets and Armies. As these know how to give reputation to small things, and add value to meane prosperities; so these are able to witnesse their in differency in their

greatest griefs, and courageously and with disdain indure the cruellest outrages of fortune.

Their Fidelity begins not now to be known, it hath bin praised by the Testimony of Antiquitie, and it is written of them, that Torments have not bin able to draw out of their mouthes, their Masters, or Friends secrets. That Slave is sufficiently famous, who after he had revenged his Benefactor, began to laugh when they put him to examination; and with calme joy mocked at the Executioners and all their inventions of Cruelty. But what reputation can equall the vertue of *Flexio*, and what so honorable mention can be made by Historie which will not come short of his merit! King *Sanches*, against whom his Brother *Alphonso* made Warr, had placed him in *Conimbra* to defend it. This faithfull Servant, after he had bin a long time nourished with Leather and Urine, and had constantly indured all the inconveniences of a Siege, would not for all this surrender himself, nor give up the Town to the power of *Alphonso*, though his Brother *Sanches* were dead. He would not trust any thing that could be said to him thereof; and continued in this vertuous incredulity, till he was permitted to go to *Toledo* where his Master was buried; whose Tombe being opened to him, he put the Keyes of the place between his hands.

For their Abstinence and sobriety, it is almost incredible that is reported of them; every hearbe serves them for meat, all juyce serves them for oyle, all liquor is wine; therefore we see not among them fat and corpulent persons. In one *Swisse* there is enough to make three *Spaniards*; Their foul swims not in the blood, nor is stifled by the flesh and fatness of their body; they are alwayes content with a very slender nourishment: In the time of *Pliny*, their choice dishes were Acorns rosted in the embers; Now with a Raddish or bunch of Fennell they are twice 24 houres in a faction; They die of hunger, and command over those that make good cheare.

Behold what is worthily esteemed amongst them: But what means is there to indure their pride which they bring into the world with them? This second originall sin, in which they are conceived; This essentiall property by which they are *Spaniards*, as by Reason Men; They generally condemne whatsoever is not of their own Countrey, nor can they believe, that out of it there is any thing fair, or valiant, or Catholique; They look upon other people

with pity, and though Spain be the Mother but of few Children, and that she adopts the *Walloons*, the *Germanes*, and the *Italians*, with which she fills her Armies, yet they cease not to condemn these Nations by whom they are formidable, and to call them *Veillacos*, who make them to overcome and bear rule.

Is it not a pleasure to hear them say sometimes, that their Army consists of 30 thousand Men, and 5000 Souldiers, that is, of 30 thousand Strangers, and 5000 *Spaniards*? and to see these braggadocioes renew the vanitie of the *Romane Princes*, who made a difference between their Confederates and their Souldiers, nor ever communicated this last name to their *Auxiliaries* which they took to the warr with them.

They are indeed, more truly then the *Romanes*, Robbers of all Lands, and Pyrats of all Seas: Their ambition is not content with the possession of visible things; It searcheth after an unknown world. It hath penetrated, as it were, to a new nature: And if they were certain that those great spots which appear in the body of the *Moone*, were *Provinces* and *Kingdomes*; as *Galileus* would perswade them, they would find out a way to go thither.

But let us mock at the extravagancie of their designs, when they are indeed extravagant and ridiculous. Let not us our selves speak of businesses far off, though universall Justice extends it self through all, and binds all men together; Let us leave the Interest of Common humanity to take care of our particular; let us complain of the Evils of *Europe*, and not busie our selves to tell the History of the *Indians*.

The *Kings*, it seems, doe him wrong to be Sovereigns, and Popular States offend him in being Free. As long as he shall have one neighbour, there wil never want falling out: Either by good will or by force he will enter upon all the affaires of *Princes*: When they come as Compeeres, they carry themselves like Enemies; They change the offices which they promised into evill rights which they alleadge, and false debts which they demand: And if two Concurrents pretend to one thing, the Temper which they find to content them, is to take it from them: Thus they accommodate differences, and unite Parties, by putting them out of their Interest: They have played such games in *Germany*, and would continue them in *Italy*; they have matter ready to fall to

work elsewhere; and though their enterprises go sometimes but slowly on, and that the success follow not close upon the resolution, yet we alwaies see in them a strange obstinacy to hope well.

They are no longer before *Cazal*, but if I mistake not, they will not stay long before they return thither: They are not repulsed neither by the length nor difficulty of things; That which they cannot do to day, they imagine they shall do to morrow: If they are abus'd in the Termes, they believe to be assur'd of the Event. Already they deliberate of the order which they wil establish in the affaires of peace, after the victory: Already they design Governors for places which they intend to besiege next year, and think so insolently of the future, that there wants but little of beleaguering their Debtors upon the taking of *Venice*: And certainly, if God had not put barrs in this Kingdome against their violence, and a place of freedome for weakness; If *France* were not the common Countrey of strangers, and if our Armies were not the defensive Armies of Christendome; I doubt not but they would sooner or later finish the Conquests which they have begun, and at last carry away the Crown from *Italy*, upon which they have fastened so many assaults.

CHAP. XXX.

YEt let the Italians rest assur'd if they are affrighted; let them conceive a firme hope from the day of their safety which is coming on; let them prepare themselves to receive the good fortune which comes to find them: There is yet of their Race who have chastised their Tyrants, who have purged their Provinces from divers plagues that afflicted them; Who have ruined the Empire of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and restor'd the Sovereign High Preists to their Seat: The Successor of *Charlemaigne* is alive, and asks only their consent to take the yoak from off their neck, who stretcheth forth his hands to the Potentates that are fallen from their Thrones, who finds himself offended wherever they offend Justice, and beares his cares and his thoughts every where, where there are honest men that suffer, or weak men that groan.

But let them also consider, if they please, that all alone he cannot do all things, and that in vain he hath the power to make Warr, if they have not the courage to make use of these Remedies, but cherish their disease. God who hath made us without us, will not save us without us; He will have us

contribute something on our part to our own preservation, and to be as it were Co-workers together with him; He will have us take paines at his work, and that we be the Instruments of that business whereof he is the undertaker. Upon what therefore dream these Speculatives in the Countrey of *Machiavell* and *Tacitus*? What do those Princes and People pretend to become, who will behold us with their armes acrossed? If they performe not what was promised; Do they think to be idle Spectators, and unmoveable in an Action, whose success is common to them by an inevitable Consequence? Do they believe this affaire is indifferent to them, because the first troubles and the first dangers seem particularly to belong to the *Monsier of Mantua*? Are they not afraid that the contagion of the evill passeth even to them, and that the ruine of others draws theirs after it? Do they not know that we receive all the blows which are given to our Countrey, and that all her wounds are ours? That they disarme us in spoiling our Allies, and weaken our Towns in taking those of our Neighbours? What Fatall and miserable stupidity is this? Have they not eies to see the Firebrands that are comming to burne *Germany*? Is not the noise which the fall of the *Palatinate* hath made, able to waken them? Shall that be said of the *Italians*, which was said of the People of *Asia*, That for Freemen they were worth nothing, but made Excellent Slaves, and upheld an insupportable Tyranny, for want of knowing how to say No, and not being able stedfastly to pronounce this Syllable.

Because they are not yet oppress'd, and that they are reserved for the last Act of the Tragedy, they believe They are secure; because the poyson hath not yet gain'd their heart, and death doth not yet gripe them, they imagin they are very well: And because the *Spaniard* is not yet sate down before their Cities with his Troops, they sweare he doth not so much as dream of them. And yet if one of their Citizens should provide great store of Stones, very much Wood, Lime and Sand, and such like materialls, and at the same time prepare a place in a very faire scate to imploy all these things, they would say without doubt that he built and erected a Pallace, though they saw not the Foundations laid, nor the Wals set up: Why therefore will they not say, that the Spaniard, who heaps together his preparations with so long a hand to reach them, I meane his best and dearest Friends, makes Warr upon them now, though he hath not yet besieged them, nor bid them Battle? Why will they not in a good time, put the State in a posture to defend it self; seeing if they suffer him to manage his work till it be done, it will be no longer in their

power to oppose him? Forasmuch as all his peace is deceitfull, and disguised; his Friendship proud and violent; Seeing his Complements intreat not, but command and compel, and that it is impossible to live in good correspondence with him, and in Liberty; They must of necessity chuse the one of two things, either to be his Subjects, or his Enemies, and see which they love best, Slavery or Warr.

Things are not so altered in their Countrey, but Nature hath preserved some remainder of good seed; she can yet raise up Spirits stout and courageous from this ancient principle of Valour, which is not as yet extinguished, and distill some drops of bloud purely *Romane* and *Italian*, amidst that corrupted masse it labours under.

It cannot be but sometimes they remember they are the Children of the Lords of the Universe, and that their Fathers have triumphed particularly over *Spain*. It cannot be but having among them so many *Caesars*, *Pompeyes*, *Scipios*, and *Camillusses*, they should be ashamed to beare these great Names, and obey in the meane time a *Don Ferrand*, or a *Don Pedro*. It is a shame indeed that for all the deliberations at *Milan* and *Naples*, they must expect the resolution from *Madrid*, and that the *Italians* should remaine at the lowest staire of slavery, where the poor groomes without ever seeing the face of their Master, are obedient to other Servants? It is a great shame that they should imploy their Eloquence to flatter Tyrants, which they ought to make use of to excite people to recover their Liberty: It is a shame that they are Active and Valiant only for another, and that their Spirit and their Courage should take pains, only to strengthen a Dominion that oppreseth them.

If they do good actions in *Germany*, and in the *Low-Countries*, if they return from Warr charged with spoiles, and full of reputation, it is the *Spaniards* glory, and not theirs: by that they do not gain Subjects, but Companions of slaverie: They make not the fortune of their own Countrey better, but render the power of a stranger more formidable; Their chains become more glittering and strong, not lighter and more loose.

I hope they will make some reflection hereupon, and that I shall not lose all that I have said; Perhaps that vertue which is believed dead, is but asleep; perhaps the sick will get up, and the heart return from its swoonings.

The *Republick of Venice*, without doubt, will cast its eyes upon that Decree of *Athens* which was not upheld by a *King of France*, when it proclaim'd warr against *King Philip*; She will adde sharpness to her prudence, and will arme good Counsels, lest *Fury* should be more strong then *Reason*; She will accompanie more then ever with Courage and generositie, that excellent wisdom, whereof she reads Lectures to all *Europe*: She will consider, that having bin born and brought up in the Armes of *Liberty*, and calling her self *Queen* of the *Sea*, she should very much degenerate; if in her old age she should change her condition, and upon firme Land quit her *Scepter* and her *Diadem*. She will consider, that her incomparable scituation which seems rather a Miracle, and an example of Divine power, then a work of mens hands: Her sumptuous *Arsenal*, her proud *Haven*, and her stately buildings, are not the fruits of the fear and laziness of their Ancestors; but the effects of their labour, their Sweats and their Constancie: and all these illustrious marks, cannot be preserved but by those means whereby they were acquir'd.

His Holinesse hath a Soul too noble, and too high to do any low thing in this occasion; The perfect knowledg of Divine and humane things, which even the Enemies to his Church admire in him; the commerce which he hath with the Ancient *Romans*, whose writings breath nothing but libertie and love of their Countrey; The abode he made in France, where he had most particular Conference with *Henry the Great*, and entred long before into his mind and thoughts: Lastly, that aspect worthy of an *Empire*, which sheweth something more then humane; and that countenance which casteth beams of *Majestie* upon all that behold it, signifieth nothing fearfull or feeble, and can furnish us with none but good presages and fair hopes. He will take the pains to remember, that his dignitie hath bin more respected by *Attila* then by *Charles*, and that the only presence of *Leo* unarmed, stop'd the scourge of God and chas'd him out of Italy; Whereas this Devout and Religious *Prince*, after 3 Treaties of *Peace* wherewith he held *Clement* the seventh in a sleep, kept him Prisoner contrary to all Divine and humane right, and sack'd *Rome* by the hands of the *Hereticks*.

He will see in the Historie of his *Predecessors*, that for a less danger then that which threatens him, they have heretofore made a Holy warr against *Mainfroy*, as against the *Sultan*; and that another time they have sent forth a *Croisade* against those of *Cullen*, after the same manner as against the Infidels.

But if he will be a better manager of his *Thunders*, and make use of his power more moderately; If for some Respects he will not openly embrace the Common cause, nor assist with his Armes interess'd *Princes*; I assure my self at least, that he will favour them with his Inclination, his vows and wishes; and will blesse their affaires secretly.

And since we have an opinion, that a *Friend* or *Master* that sees us play, though he say not a word, nor speak upon the game, leaves not to assist us, and to bring ill luck to our Adversaries: They will grow somewhat bold of the good will of the *Pope*, though neither published nor declar'd; and will take courage from the signs he shall make them, if they cannot prevaile by his Forces.

For other inferior *Princes*, whose repose is not founded upon the holiness of Religion, and like him cannot command the world in a Chaire; it is necessary that they stirr wholly for the recoverie or preservation of their Crowns, and that they enter into the design which the *King* hath to re-establish them if they are depos'd, or to maintain them if they are threatned: It is necessary that they cry to them on high, that *Liberty* is not defended by *Feare*, nor is violence repel'd with softness.

It is needfull, that in this occasion, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *England*, the *Catholiques*, the *Protestants*, and the *Arminians*, should unite themselves together against the Common Enemy; against him who assaults not the *Hereticks* out of zeal of Religion, but Interest of State, and who covets not as St. Paul did, the Unbelievers, but those things which are theirs. A Stoick and an *Epicure*, that is to say, two men who make profession of a contrary *Philosophie*; and who were of two disagreeing *Sects*, could agree when there was a question of delivering their Countrey from slavery, and could lay their opinions aside to joyn their Interests together.

A man that is in danger to be drown'd, catcheth hold indifferently of whatever he meets with, were it a naked sword, or a hot iron. Necessity divides Brothers and unites Strangers; It makes the Christian agree with the *Turk* against the Christian; It excuseth and justifieth whatever it doth: The Law of God hath not abrogated the law of nature; The preservation of a mans self is the most pressing, if not the most lawfull of all Duties. In an extream danger we look not so neer to fair dealing, or what may seem best; neither is to sin, but to defend a mans self with the left hand.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE Scruple of Conscience ought not then to be made use of for a Pretence of lazinesse: Our *Princes* have a right and Justice remaining; and sufficient Forces provided, they want not courage and resolution.

The *Monster*, whose figure we have seen, is indeed cruell and savage, but he is not for all this invincible: He hath a great Body, but this body consists of severall pieces, and holds together more by ligaments then nerves: He hath many members; but they are neither well proportioned nor compacted: The Armes cannot reach the head, the Breast is naked when the utmost parts are covered, and if he move himself on one side, all the rest sticks fast; So usually, he receives is many blows as he gives, and is as famous for his losses as for his victories.

Behold a handfull of People, that brave him and beat him ordinarily, and whom God hath lifted up to humble his pride and Insolence! Behold one little *Marsh* which resists all his Kingdoms and all his forces! Consider a power which alwaies floats, and depends partly upon the winds and Tempest, which yet holds up against his formidable *Monarchie*.

These Fishermen which he so much contemned at first, have caught his Towns and Provinces in their nets; have taken from him Fleets and Conquests, and share almost every year with him the Revenue of the *Indies*; Are they not the weak things of the world, which God hath chosen to confound the strong? Is it not a small grain of Sand wherewith he bridles in the fury of the Ocean? Do you not remember the little Stone which

overturn'd the great *Statue*? After 40 years of warr, the *Spaniard* is still to begin in that Countrey: All that he hath done is but to spend his Men, and cast his Millions into the Sea, and to be enforced to do nothing.

Those very advantages he so much brags of, are victories so dearly bought, that he had bin ruin'd, had he gain'd many such; For his losses they are notable and ordinary, and some of them he will feel yet a long time; At the Hague is to be seen a great Hall all Tapistred with his Cloaths, In which the States feasted *Marquesse Spinola*, when of a Captain Generall he became an Ambassador to demand peace, and the Eternall Counsell acknowledg'd its Subjects for Sovereigns, and sent to flatter them, after they had unprofitably threatned them. The *Prince*, who at this day commands their Armies, will be very well able to hang another Hall after the same manner, if he but live, & the warr continue: He is not less skilful in his art, then the late *Prince Maurice* his Brother, he is no less a lover of Liberty, nor no better a friend to our Conquerors; and I think will handle them with no more courtesie nor respect. It is true indeed, that the success of *Germany* hath heightned their heart, and that their affaires appear there very well settled; but let us not be astonished at this; That which makes the greatest noise, and carries the fairest shew, is not alwaies the most certain. There is yet whereby they may be troubled, where they think themselves so secure: And who knows not, if *Germany*, which they have divided, would re-unite it self, and if the *Germans* would leave to lend their hands and their blood to their Enemy, and serve their Countrey; all the Trophies which he hath erected among them would fall presently in pieces, and a prosperity of 10 years would come to nothing.

Sometimes the vanquished hath endangered the Victor, and with the broken end of a sword, hath slain him, of whom he begg'd his life. Formidable beginnings have many times had ridiculous conclusions; and a power destin'd to conquer Kingdomes, hath bin broken in pieces by a small portion of earth: oftentimes, those that have given law to others have bin the nearest to danger, and the Sovereign People of the Universe, in a warr where the end was successfull, were reduc'd to such an extreimity of ill fortune, that they had no remainder of hope but in the besieged Capitoll, and in banished *Camillus*.

Oppression doth not alwaies spoile free-men of their vertue, it excites only their courage, and sharpens their valour by grief; It is a cause sometimes of a greater and more assured liberty, and makes, that after the recovery of lost things, they preserve with obstinacie what was formerly possess'd with negligence.

We must not alwaies be credulous at the first joy, nor confide in the appearance of businesses; there are ill gains and ruinous acquisitions. And as a Marchant, who had loaded his Ship with store of wild Beasts, to bring them out of *Africa* into *Europe*, should not be assur'd in the midst of his riches, and might be lost upon the Sea, though the winds were favourable; so it seems to me, that *Princes*, after they have gained battles and conquered peoples, ought to be afraid of their own Conquests, and make account that there are not more dangerous enemies, then Subjects that obey by force. The *Germans* will be free when ever they shall please to break their Fetters: The Division ceasing amongst them, the power of the *Spaniard* will cease to be in their Countrey, and the first day that they shall agree together, He will be driven out.

I hear talk moreover of a *King of Sweden*, which can very well give him his handfull, and do exceeding service, if he be advisedly employed. His Courage is not a blind and headlong boldnesse, nor his Valour a heat of anger: He knows who to make Warr with knowledg, and leaves scarce any thing to the discretion of Fortune. The motions of his soul are very high, but also they are very regular and just; He hath a great spirit guided by a greater judgement; He hath the possession of necessary vertues, nor doth he want those that are delightfull; He would deserve a Kingdome neerer the Sun then that of *Swedland*: And if *Pyrrhus*, who named the *Romans* Barbarous, should returne again into the world, he would certainly say, that never was Greek more accomplished, nor more rationall then this Barbarian.

The *King of England*, wil not abandon a cause in the which besides the reasons of State which are common to him with us, his Honor and his Conscience will ingage him more particularly then any other; He wil have pitty of his Sister, of his Brother in Law, and of his Nephewes, which are sad and deplorable Examples of the instability of the things of the World; and which may be added to the *Adrastes*, the *Polynices*, the *Hecubas* and

Antigones upon the Theaters. Now that he is rid of that Importunate, who traversed all his good designs, and who play'd so insolently with his name and power in the pernicious Galentries of his State; being as he is wise and Noble, he will undertake a Resolution worthy his good sence and Courage. He will hearken to that faire *Queen* whom Heaven hath given him, full of spirit and understanding, that in the same person he may find together all content and assistance, and that she that possesseth his love, and who is the delight of his eies, may participate also in his Counsels, and be the Companion of his cares. He will follow his first Inclinations, and his true Interests, nor will he lightly depart from the ancient Amities of the late *King* her Father; and remembring the disgusts which were offered him he will joyn himself with France where he was intreated with all kind of honor and affection. This good cause will be upheld by other meanes; nor will want followers and partners; besides it is certain that the Body which we are afraid of, hath its wounds and infirmities which trouble it, and which leave not off to be dangerous, though they be covered with some appearance of health; Neither need we doubt that Warr beginning to seize upon it, and to presse him on all sides, he will not presently be sensible of whatever pain or weaknesse is in his members, and under that bundle and paint of Greatnesse, which cheats the world, there be not found some corrupted parts and incurable ulcers. But let the worst come; when he shall be as sound as he seems great and strange, when he shall have quitted himself of all his losses, who shall be his Surety for the future? If he hath prospered since the death of the late *King*, 'tis his turne now to be miserable; if he grow secure of the favour of Fortune, he confides in the Caresses of a Curtezan: It is not likely that she that makes profession of lightnesse, should be constant for the love of him; But it is very likely that the groanes of Nations, the clamor of Innocents persecuted, the affliction of Mothers and Widowes left desolate; The Violations, Sacrilegies and other ill consequences, of unjust Warrs, will mount up to the very Throne of God, and will draw down his vengeance upon him that is the cause of so many mischiefs. There is much more likelihood that the eternall Justice prepares that punishment for him which he deserves, rather then that Fortune, which is but a Infidel, should keep her word with him, If God understand the cry of the young Ravens in their nest, will he not hear his Children who sollicite him, and demand a reason of the wrong which is done them? If the voice of the bloud of *Abel* came up to him, shall the bloud of a number of Christians be dumbe, and fall to the ground

without making any noise? Shall their complaints, their imprecations, their last words be lost? Shall they die for Justice, and yet Justice make no enquire after their death? The avenger of Perjuries and of violated Religion, will he alwaies suffer Religion to be made an instrument for Tyranny, and that that name should be made use of to deceive the world? If he count our hairs, will he have no respect to our sighs? Will he not gather up our Tears? Will he despise our Prayers? No, No, let us assure our selves that God is for us, and that the miseries of Christendome do touch him. We have one marke, concerning the certainty whereof it is not lawfull to doubt: If he had not resolved powerfully to succour those that are his, He had not sent the *King* at this time; If he had not a desire to make them overcome, he had not presented them with so brave a Captain; If he would deferr the term of their Liberty, he would have deferr'd his birth. Certainly he hath caused this excellent *Prince* to be borne for the good of men, and for the happinesse of his Age. He hath given him to the Prayers of *France*, of *Italy*, and of *Germany*, who have beg'd him; He could not refuse the necessity of his people that had need of him. The Captain Generall of a great Confederacie, who should have spent the greatest part of his life, in Closets and Gardens, and who had seen nothing but Masks and Feasts, would be overcome by the first ill news; and the hope of them who should rest themselves upon his capacity, would have a very weak and ruinous Foundation; But this *Man* is born amidst Warr and Armies: From his Infancy he hath beheld Sieges and Battles; Necessity hath hardned him in good time for vertue, and that which is troublesome to others, is only an Exercise to him: There is nothing so high nor so difficult, but we may expect it from his Valour; He will go beyond our highest hopes. I will say once more; It depends only of himself that he doth not Conquer, and dispute his Empire and Dominion with the most Ambitious: But He will not enrich himself with publike losses: Nor will he be guiltie of his good Fortune, he desires not a quality which should prove Tragically to all *Europe*. Let no man take any distaste at his designs, nor let his Armes be an occasion of Jealousie to any one. He hath consecrated his hands to the Lord, and to the Protection of Justice; His armes defend none but good Causes; They bring rest and security to People, and will be in the same condition, as the *Targets* that fell from Heaven were to the Romanes that gathered them up. It is not *Hannibal* that comes down from the Alps with all the cruelties and perfidious dealings of his Countrey, and that, after a solemn Oath to destroy *Italy*. It is *Pepin*, it is *Charlemaine*, who will once more deliver

them; and if in the fatall year that That *African* began his Warr, a Child being out of his Mothers belly return'd presently back again, to shew that he could not do well in the world in so ill a time; Now that a time quite contrary to this begins, certainly it will be a pleasure to be borne an Inhabitant of the earth; And Mothers ought to be glad of their fruitfulness, because they are sure to bear Children that shall be happier then their Fathers, and who shall live in Liberty by the benefit of *Lewis* the *Just*.

He need not be suspected of the *Italians*, nor ought *Italy* to account him for a stranger; He is an Italian by the Mothers side, and consequently interested in the present affaires, not only by honour and consideration of State, but also out of a naturall Inclination and Piety; and because they will needs tell us false Oracles, and supposititious Prophecies: Since *Pythia* is still a lyar in favour of *Philip*, why should not we search out Oracles of our side, and make use of the witness of wise men, who, according to the opinion of *Plato*, are never without Divine Inspiration?

Why should not we alleadg that which was written above a hundred years ago by a great Person, to *Laurence de Medicis*, Duke of *Urbino*; that miserable *Italy* should hope from his house for one that should deliver it. Infalibly the spirit that dictated these words to him, saw afar off the marriage of *Henry* the *Great*; he intended to speak of *Lewis* the *Just*, and designed the wonders which we have seen, and those which we shall see, if the *Italians* will not obstinately resist their own good fortune, and preferr not their Onions and their Garlick, (I mean some small Interests and beggarly pensions wherewith *Spain* repaies them) before the Liberty which is offered to them.

But be it as it will, the *King* hath a design to do that which the *Princes* have done, whom History hath made mention of for Demy-Gods: He goes in the steps of those magnanimous *Kings*, the sworn Enemies of wicked men, the Protectors of honest men, the peace-makers of Sea and Land, who seek for no other fruit from their victories but the rest of the world, nor run from one end to another of it, but to procure its deliverance. He knows that he is descended from those that have broken the forces, and extinguished the *Tyranny* of *Luitprand*, *Astulph* and *Didier*: from those who have restored to the *Popes* all *Flaminia* and *Emilia*, which had bin usurped from them: who

presented them with the Isle of *Corsa*, and the Dutchie of *Spoletto* and *Beneventum*; who added to their Dominion, all the Countrey between *Parma* and *Lucqua*: He knoweth that he is heire to him, who, by a better Title then that of *Constantine's*, might be called the *Churches Benefactor*, and whose name is yet read at Ravenna in a Table of *Marble*, with this remainder of an Inscription; *He was the first that opened the way to the growth and encrease of the Church*. He believes with *Aristotle*, that to do well, is no less a mark of Excellency then of goodness; and with *St. Paul*, that we must do good to all men, but chiefly to those of the houshold of faith; He believes that a great *King* ought to carry his cares long before into the future, and farr beyond his own Kingdome; that all times ought to be in like consideration with him as the present, and all miserable men equally recommended to him as his own Subjects: That *Mountferrat* and *Mantua* must be as neer to his mind as the Suburbs of *Paris*, and the back-side of the *Louuer*; and if thirty daies journey from him, a poor afflicted Person invoke his name, and implore his Justice, he presently feels a diminution of his miseries, and a change in his fortune. He finds that it is a much fairer thing to restore Liberty to Common-Wealths, then to give them a good *Master*; to get passionate servants, rather then ill-affected Subjects; to make himself friends then vassals; to have over all men a Superioritie of vertue, rather then a Sovereignty of power: Lastly, he is not exalted to the highest degree of humane things, but that he may be looked upon afarr off, and give lustre to the whole Kingdome, that he may serve for a rule to other *Princes*, for a living and animated Law to all the Nations of the Earth.

In Conscience since People of this sort make way where ever they pass, since their Example is a kind of Command, which the most rebellious cannot disobey, and that the bitterness which is sometimes found in vertue, is sweetned by the fondness of imitating *Kings* therein; the present Generation must needs become better experienced, and there would be too much hardness in the hearts of men, if presently all Christendome do not become vertuous, and if the Holy life of the Kings, without convocating the Generall States, and Assembly of Nobles, do not produce a voluntary Reformation in this State, and abroad an honest emulation to do as well as us.

We need not any more seek for the *Idea* of a *Prince* in the Institution of *Cyrus*, nor go any more to Rome to admire the *Statuas* of *Consuls* and

Emperors, nor to praise the dead to the prejudice of the living. There is not among all that People, any Antick piece of stone or brass, which represents a *Heros* like ours; we possess what our Fathers wished for, nor can we remember any thing which is of so much value, as what we have seen. As for me, whether it is that I am passionate for the glory of my *Master*, or whether I interest my self in the design which I have undertaken, or that the light of present things dazleth me, or that the only love of Truth makes me speak; it is certain, that having beheld all the parts of the world, and considered it from the first moment of its birth, I find not any man, over whom the *King* hath not some advantage, nor any ones life, which take it altogether, is so admirable as his.

I see great vertues in many places, but I see also great vices which accompany them: Serpents are hid under the Flowers; Poysons and perfumes come out of the same bosome of the Earth: whole Nature is a confusion of good and evill; there is not any part but suffers its inconveniences and wants; and those very bodies which it hath brought forth with the greatest care, and which it hath formed of the richest matter, have their Eclipses and their maladies: There is but the Person of the *King*, where I observe nothing that I would not have to be: I am not here busied, as it were, about the refining of mettals, to separate the pure from the impure; I am not troubled to sever vertue from vice.

All there is equally good, all is blameless, and worthy to be esteemed. And if the first rank which he holds now amongst men, were to be disputed among them, I cannot suppose that any one could lawfully contend with him, but would yield to him either in nobleness of blood, or in prosperity of success, or in the carriage of his body, or in strength of wit, or in magnanimity of heart, or in uprightness of conscience.

Let us conclude then, that he is *The Prince* by excellency, and beyond all comparison; that his life is the lesson of *Masters*, and the examples of the perfect, that his praises ought to be the exercises of all wits, and the matter of all discourse.

Let us not go out of so pleasant a meditation, but to enter into it again; Let us not take breath, but to lift our voices higher; let us not make an end

but to begin again; So much Holy-day is there in all this Province, since the taking of Rochel; and we have leisure which we cannot better imploy, then to the honour of him who hath given it us, and who makes us in joy, in rest, our books and our studies. Besides that, when leisure it self failes us; and that businesses and affaires press us on all sides, so noble a digression deserveth to be preferred before businesses and imployments.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

IN the last Leafe but one of the first letter, 12. line, read for being, begins. in the second leaf of the 2. Letter, l. 15. r. imploy to so. In the Preface, 6. leafe, l. 22. r. Reeds. The Prince, p. 16. l. 13. read will. p. 40. l. 25. r. Loure. p. 47. l. 1. read longing. p. 51. l. 17. r. throug out. p. 55. l. 5. r. Jacobusses. p. 59. l. 17. r. become. p. 73. l. 3. r. feares. p. 89 l. 19. r. painfull. l. 21. r. gives. p. 93 l. 11. r. to deserve. p. 95 l. 6 r. busie. p. 111 l. 15 r. instruct. p. 119 l. 13 r. bad. p. 122. l. 7 r. upon. p. 126 l. 5 r. one. p. 152 l. 8 r. Is it. p. 153 l. 21 and 22 r. and this make speed, or that which goes, &c. p. 170 l. 4 r. fairer. p. 174 l. 21 r. blame. p. 181 l. 24 r. discord. p. 192 l the last, r. Alanies. p. 193 l. 25 r. Alevix. p. 198 l. 18 r. Rats. p. 201 l. 3 r. hole not well. p. 217 l. 14 r. of Philosophers. p. 237 l. 7 r. lower. p. 240 l. 6 r. they can be. p. 246 l. 19 r. of Enemies. p. 258 l. 10 read it not lawfull, P. 269 l. 9 r. one l. 15. r. this. p. 276 l. 22 r. their p. 287 l. 15 r. truly l. 20 r. world p. 288 l. 24 r. Vmpeeres p. 304 l. 4 r. it.

Imprimatur,

Na: Brent. Decemb. 13. 1647